New Republic

JANUARY 3, 1949

ROOSEVELT AND THE MYTHMAKERS

By WILLIAM HARLAN HALE

RUSSIAN SCIENCE AND HERESY

No. 2 OF A SERIES By JOSEPH P. LASH

IMPERIALIST FOLLY IN INDONESIA

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New Republic

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CONTENTS FOR JAN. 3, 1949

5 Editorial
6 The Week:
6 The Duggan Case
7 The Medical Trust
7 CIO Revolution
8 The Hollywood Writers
9 New Faces in Congress
9 Outside America
11 Russian Science and Heresy
16 The Lobbies
19 Guerrillas in the New Israel
22 Roosevelt and the Mythmakers
27 Books
27 Radio
28 Movies
29 Theatre
31 Correspondence
31 Bandwagon

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WASHINGTON WIRE

INSTALL A GOLD THRONE in the Senate's immense, marble caucus room; play a Strauss waltz over in one corner; and it might be Franz Joseph's imperial ballroom. It is in this room that tycoons are now giving testimony on profits. The frescoed ceiling with its crystal chandeliers rises three stories. There are a dozen Last-Days-of-Pompeii columns (the kind Hollywood likes to knock down in the last big smash scene), dramatic red velour curtains, red carpets, and bad acoustics. The green-and white porcelain spittoons scattered under chairs and tables tell you it isn't old Vienna. But it's only natural to talk of "billions" here, particularly when the speakers are Ben Fairless, head of US Steel, and Chairman E. M. Voorhees of the corporation's finance committee, both men with salaries of more than $100,000. Their story is as romantic as the room itself. "Profits," they say, aren't profits any more; what you see is all a mirage.

This hearing gets little press attention; as a show, it can't compete with old maestro Mundt's daily horror serial in the spy hearing. The wire services send out a few paragraphs of advance texts even before witnesses start talking, often the stuff the witnesses themselves skip. Reporters don't stick around for the rough going-over the moguls are getting. Just the same it's fascinating—the unreal setting and the millionaires' hard-luck fantasy.

Fairless and Voorhees are strong-jawed, self-confident tycoons who look as though they have just come out from under sun lamps. They face a couple of worthy antagonists. Republican Flanders is a droll-dry Yankee manufacturer, with bottle-brush mustache, as down to earth as a Vermont stone wall. Democrat O'Mahoney is as bushy-browed and impressive as they come in the Senate; he uses his pince-nez with its black silk ribbon partly as an adornment, partly to see through, and partly to gesture with. There are other Senators and Representatives here too, including goodness-me-Bob Taft, just back from Europe. But the Flanders-O'Mahoney team is the prize attraction of the committee hearings.

It is just about all Fairless and Voorhees can do to refrain from being supercilious to these $15,000-a-year Senators. You can see that these men are fighters; they keep throwing back challenging questions. "But, my dear Senator," expostulates Voorhees to O'Mahoney now and then. Flanders drily warns him at one point, "Please remember what side of the table you're on."

It's a trivial little bookkeeping thing; the whole issue involves less than $100 million. It seems that in US Steel's balance sheet Voorhees has inserted a curious, brand-new, financial gimmick, an item "to cover replacement costs": for 1947, "$26.3 million"; for the first nine months of 1948, "$39.7 million." These items are deducted before "real" profits are reckoned. The argument is that inflation has boosted potential replacement costs so as to exaggerate profits. The Treasury, the old meanie, won't agree. Bob Taft, with the blunt honesty that compensates for his faults, blurts out that it's too much for him, too. That rather shocks Fairless and Voorhees. O'Mahoney bores in. Isn't US Steel trying to play it both ways, reckon expenses in inflation dollars, profits in deflated dollars?

There are no movie cameras and spotlights at this curious hearing. But there is an ominous undertone that might scare the pants off the country just the same if folks appreciated it. Ben Fairless says meaningfully at one

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TWO MORE ARTICLES BY *Joseph P. Lash* ON RUSSIA

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Russia Purges Her Artists

In this discerning article, third in his series, Mr. Lash describes the recent purge of "western" ideas in the fields of art, music, and literature and gets behind the reasons for the purge.

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Why Russia Attacks the West

The fourth article explains what is going on today in the fields discussed in the preceding articles and shows what course is open to anyone who disagrees with the official opinion.

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New Republic

point that business "soft spots" are developing—it shouldn't be long now before steel supply balances demand. O'Mahoney asks quickly, "Does this mean a depression?" Fairless is cryptic. "I think the present steel demand is not going to continue," he says enigmatically. "We see signs cropping up all over the country."

As the year ends, we want to say a word of gratitude for the new Public Affairs Institute under Dewey Anderson, executive director, which took up offices at 312 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E., this year. It is a liberal counterpart of the conservative Brookings Institution. Much of its initial $100,000 came from the railway brotherhoods. A big new report on "The Ruhr: A Better American Policy," is just out. It now has a score or more economic-research assignments, many from congressmen. It is another hopeful sign of a changing capital.

A post-election phenomenon that impresses us is the way, suddenly, all sorts of prominent publications have changed their tune. Take the Taft-Hartley Act. If Dewey had been elected, probably these periodicals would have kept their gnawing secret securely locked in their own bosoms: that they really think the Act is too harsh and ought to be modified. With Truman victorious, the secret is out in no time.

Life magazine, for example, in its November 29 issue, finally admitted that organized labor really does distrust T-H, and that it ought to be changed. Then *Business Week,* a McGraw Hill publication which speaks the views of management, came out urging complete repeal. It blurted the secret to the world: under conceivable circumstances the Act "could wreck the labor movement." It goes on to spell out how. Instances like this could be multiplied. It is nice to have these big fellows getting in step after the election with a viewpoint we always supported. Wasn't it lucky Truman won, so they could tell us what they really thought?

Washington T.R.B.

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VOLUME 120, NUMBER 1, ISSUE 1779, NEW YORK CITY, JANUARY 3, 1949 **New Republic**

MUZZLES FOR LOBBYISTS

LOBBYING is a legitimate activity for all groups in a democracy. The growth of pressure blocs representing special interests was inevitable within the limits of our two-party system. Lobbying has become such big business in the Washington of today, however, that there is a real necessity for "grade-labeling" all lobbies so that everyone can know their component parts and who is behind the product.

In recent years, the lobbies have grown so great that they now amount to a fourth branch of our national government. Lobbying techniques have been refined, and respect for the restrictions imposed by federal statute has increased among the professionals. But vast sums of money are still being spent on the care and feeding of congressmen by predatory groups. The International Association of Machinists union, which has called for a congressional investigation into lobbying practices, estimates that at least $12 million was spent directly on influencing the 80th Congress. And, the IAM points out, no one has yet refuted the charge made on the floor of Congress that manufacturers spent $100 million in the campaign to pass Taft-Hartley.

Anyone who watched the Republican 80th Congress knows the disproportionate influence exerted on that body by the real-estate lobby, the utility lobby, the railroads, organized medicine, and the oil interests. There is no doubt that these and all the other major pressure groups will be on duty in even greater numbers when the 81st Congress convenes. Experienced lobbyists, with generous expense accounts and a shrewd knowledge of the many ways to a congressman's heart, will be there to fuss over the greenest, most insignificant new members.

President Truman's program will fail if the lobbyists for special privilege are able to seduce any considerable part of his not too solid majority in the new Congress. The only real defense against their tactics is to give their operations full and relentless publicity.

The first step toward the necessary exposure of lobbying activities was taken in the Lobby Registration Act of 1946. Before that time only the Federal Corrupt Practices Act and the criminal code provided punishment for improper influence on Congress. Ever since 1907, there have been proposals for general lobbying bills. The Black Committee ended its spectacular Senate investigation of the utilities companies in 1936 with recommendations along the general lines of the 1946 Registration Act.

Now, after two years of experience with this first regulative law, it is obvious that numerous improvements are needed to make it work. The Act specified that any person or any group receiving $500 or more to be used "principally to aid, or the principal purpose of which is to aid," in passing, defeating or directly influencing legislation must register with the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House and make financial reports at definite intervals. Heavy fines or imprisonment or both are provided for violations of the Act. Yet at the end of 1947, after the law had been in force for a full year, only about 200 associations had filed the financial statements required under it. (The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce reports that more than 3,000 national trade and professional associations have Washington representation.)

Neither the NAM nor the CIO reported its expenditures in the first year. On advice of counsel, they interpreted the act as exempting them from doing so since, they claimed, they were not "principally" engaged in influencing Congress. Obviously, an act designed to ensure full reporting of lobby activity which can be interpreted as not covering the CIO and NAM does not satisfy the intent of the Congressional Committee on the Reorganization of Congress which sponsored it.

The fact of the matter seems to be that the language of the Lobby Act is so vague and confused that anyone with a sharp lawyer can get out from under it. Important revisions in the Registration Act are necessary if it

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is to provide complete information about lobbyists and the groups behind them which it was designed to supply. Dr. Belle Zeller, of Brooklyn College, who has made a comprehensive analysis of the workings of the lobby law in its first two years, proposes:

1. That the present law be completely redrafted and clarified to "embody the broader purposes" it was intended to serve. The committee report originally recommending this measure in 1946 recognized that "mass means of communication and the art of public relations have so increased the pressures upon Congress as to distort and confuse the normal expressions of public opinion," and it urged new legislation "in order to enable Congress better to evaluate and determine evidence, data, or communications from organized groups seeking to influence legislative action."

2. That the law not be limited to a vague group "principally" engaged in lobbying but made "applicable to all organizations that now expend a specific sum [for example, at least $1,000 for any one quarter of the year] in influencing public opinion or the agencies of government directly or indirectly in the passage or defeat of any legislation of the Congress." Defining those liable to register in such terms would separate the professional from the non-professional lobbyist, make it easier for Congress to tell the big fish from the minnows.

3. That all organizations be required to report their total membership and the way their legislative policies are formed.

4. That the act be made to apply to those who lobby in the executive departments of the government as well as in Congress.

5. That lobbying for a fee contingent on passage or defeat of a specific measure be outlawed under the Act.

Authors of the original law have many other ideas for improvements. Probably much stiffer fines, up to $50,000 or $75,000, should be provided for corporations found to be in violation. The position of lawyers representing clients with special interests in special legislation must be stated in much greater detail. The mechanics of registration should force definite answers to specific questions and not, as now, permit the registrant to file only what information he chooses.

Congress must provide money for the clerical work involved. And it must, by all means, appropriate adequate funds to the Department of Justice unit assigned to enforce the Act (it is now struggling along with a total staff of only four lawyers).

"No one doubts that it is a nuisance to require such full information from private organizations," Dr. Zeller admits in her recommendations. But, she goes on, "A democracy is entitled to the fullest information from all the sources that constitute its functioning parts —and who would deny that pressure groups play a valuable and indispensable part in the dynamics of government?"

Making the present lobby law an effective statute will be a time-consuming job. While the necessary hearings and reports are being prepared, the special-privilege lobbies will be swarming over Capitol Hill in hot attack on the Administration's program.

President Truman has endorsed the Machinists' proposal of a congressional investigation into lobbying, saying that it would have "a salutary effect." A joint inquiry by the House and Senate would keep the spotlight on lobbying activities until such time as an effective permanent law could be made operative. The passage of a bill authorizing a thorough investigation should be high on the agenda of the new Congress.

THE WEEK

THIS MAN'S COUNTRY

A man described by Sumner Welles as a great patriot fell from a skyscraper window. Within two hours the patriotic Karl E. Mundt had blackened the dead patriot's name and made life miserable from here on for his widow and four young children.

The New York *Herald Tribune* called it "grotesque and bizarre." The New York *Times* left it off the editorial page altogether, when the news first came out, in favor of a curiously defensive little sermon to the effect that American public schools are really better than Russian ones (just in case any American family is thinking of moving to Siberia for the sake of the youngsters).

Thus the two great guardians of our way of life responded to the pathetic and demoralizing story of Laurence Duggan's death.

The *Herald Tribune* referred to "that disturbing air of the fantastic which has clung about the espionage investigation," but neither the journalistic descendant of Greeley and Bennett nor any other publication or person of a stature great enough to influence very many people spoke of the disturbing air which hangs over this whole nation.

All seem to have forgotten the fact that this was once a country famous for its fresh air; that many people came here out of revulsion for an atmosphere corrupted by character assas-

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sins and stool pigeons; and that we did not become the last great hope of millions of human beings by defacing the walls of somebody else's schoolhouse.

Adopting the exquisitely restrained words the *Herald Tribune* applied to Representative Mundt, "it seems difficult too strongly to censure" the bigots, hypocrites and snitches who have brought us to this pass.

The *Herald Tribune* is right. It *is* difficult for a publication to rebuke Mundt as he deserves since publications are hampered by all sorts of inconveniences like postal regulations and conventions about coarse language. It is easier to let Mundt speak for himself. Asked when he would reveal the names of five other men mentioned at the same time that Duggan's name was put before the Un-American Activities Committee, Mundt said:

"We will give them out as they jump out of windows."

THE MEDICAL TRUST

SAN DIEGO (NR correspondent)

In theory, the American Medical Association favors group medical practice and prepayment "insurance" plans. It always turns out, however, that when they are put into effect, at the local level, the local Medical Association finds some excuse to sabotage their operation.

This has been happening in San Diego. The Complete Service Bureau of that city is an organization which gives its members, for a single annual fee, comprehensive medical service. Although the Bureau has on its staff respectable, experienced and competent doctors, the San Diego County Medical Society refuses to permit them to join its ranks. This in turn excludes them from practice in the major local hospitals, a most serious handicap.

But the Complete Service Bureau is not taking its troubles lying down. California has a state anti-trust law, the counterpart of the federal Sherman Act, and the Bureau has brought suit against the Medical Society under this law. The federal Department of Justice is watching the suit (which has not yet come to trial) with keen interest. Similar situations in a number of other states have engaged the attention of its Anti-Trust Division.

Ironically, one of the doctors of the Complete Service Bureau, Dr. George Roy Stevenson, is now barred from practice at the County Hospital, among other institutions. Dr. Stevenson was for some years superintendent of that hospital.

THE CIO'S OWN REVOLUTION

The daily press was so diverted by Philip Murray's bitter attacks on left-controlled unions that it missed some of the more significant events of the CIO's Portland convention. The economic and legislative program laid down by the CIO will probably have, in the end, more effect on the nation than more transitory intra-union battles. In fact, the *Wall Street Journal*, one of the few daily papers to keep its eyes open about the convention, was so shocked by the CIO program that it declared there was no "wide difference in principle" between Murray and the Communists.

Actually, the CIO's program is the New Deal of the 1930's with some added twists. One section of its doctrine is genuinely revolutionary. It seeks a "middle way" between our kind of capitalism and European socialism, but it would require profound changes in our system and it might become enormously important if in a future depression large groups of discontented and jobless workers demanded a way out of their torment.

The significant slogan of this doctrine is "coördinated democratic industrial planning" on a national scale. Its chief prophet is Walter Reuther, president of the powerful United Automobile Workers, who has a restless spirit and a talent for economic generalizations. By official convention action the CIO is committed to "coördinated democratic industrial planning" to guarantee "participation of the people" in the "key decisions of industry" which vitally affect the people's lives.

To be specific, "key decisions" include the decisions of corporation managers on prices, production policies, dividend payments, plant expansion, rate of technological change and other matters. The managers—presumably, at least, the servants of stockholders—would no longer be allowed to make such "key decisions" by themselves. Unions, the federal government and other forces would be cut into responsibility and authority.

The CIO has left the details of this program exceedingly vague. A National Production Board would be established, with labor, management, consumers, farmers and the government represented. In each industry "coming under the plan" an Industry Council would be created, composed of representatives of management, labor, the government and "ultimate consumers where possible." Industries "coming under the plan" would include those considered "basic and monopolistic"—a definition permitting unlimited argument between Reuther and the NAM.

The CIO calls for an "interchange of ideas and decisions" between Industry Councils and the National Production Board so that a "general national plan" may be evolved by democratic methods and adjusted and perfected over a period of years. At present the President's Council of Economic Advisers is asked to give "closer attention" to long-range industrial planning and to seek support from the White House and Congress in devising "concrete terms."

If the mechanics are left vague, the manner in which the program might be applied is easy to illustrate. The National Production Board and the Industry Council for steel would undoubtedly have something to say about the volume of steel production. Management alone would not have been allowed to decide, over the past three peacetime years, whether large-scale expansion of plant capacity was economically desirable. Automobile workers thrown out of jobs by steel shortages, consumers lacking goods because of armament production and Marshall Plan requirements, would also have had a voice. The voice might have been small, at first, but it would have

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been expressed through regularized and government-sponsored channels.

The "key decisions" of automotive plants, rubber fabricators, radio manufacturers and other mass-production industries, regarding when and how to produce new models, what pricing policies to follow, what production policies to adopt, would no longer be the sole responsibility of management. Workers who might be thrown out of jobs if bad guesses were made, and the government which would answer to the whole nation if another economic crash followed the postwar boom, would have something to say.

The conflict which might be stirred up by future attempts to apply this program was foreshadowed in the General Motors strike of 1945-46 when Reuther agitated for "higher wages without higher prices." The startled corporation struck back with charges that Reuther was seeking an "opening wedge whereby unions hope to pry into the whole field of management." In asking to "look at GM's books," it asserted, the UAW really demanded a "finger in the pie."

Now, three years after the GM strike, the whole CIO has endorsed Reuther's philosophy. The American Federation of Labor has never proposed anything comparable to "coördinated democratic industrial planning," but that may largely be explained by the fact that the CIO embraces big assembly-line industries, which are most disastrously hit by depression. The AFL is steadily showing greater concern about the price structure, and it is unlikely that either labor federation will ever again ignore the importance of the general health of our economy.

General Motors and the *Wall Street Journal* are not the only critics of the CIO's doctrine. John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers is a rugged individualist who dislikes highfalutin schemes that violate free enterprise. Within the CIO itself some brain-trusters are apprehensive about overtones of the corporative state. They also say that most union leaders, between conventions, forget about abstruse "planning" and concentrate on "pork chop" issues of higher wages and bigger welfare funds. Interestingly enough, when Philip Murray recently gave a detailed interview to the *United States News and World Report,* he said not a word about long-range planning. He strongly defended other CIO concepts, but not even when he was asked about possible nationalization of industry did he seize the chance to reply: "No, we don't believe in nationalization but we do support coördinated planning."

For business leaders and spokesmen to sell the CIO program short, however, would be a blunder. They can adopt this strategy only on the dangerous assumption that our economy has finally reached the "permanent plateau of prosperity" they once thought they had reached in Calvin Coolidge's day. Union "pork chop" leaders who now give only lip service to long-range planning would feel very differently if millions of workers were again jobless. The CIO program is neither Communist nor Socialist but is offered as an American solution, on a trial-and-error basis, of difficulties chronic in heavily industrialized nations for generations.

Murray, in the interview cited above, concluded by tacitly admitting that "pressure toward nationalization of industry" might arise from unions in a new depression. "I don't know just what might happen," he said. "You might have an entirely different psychology and a different kind of thinking."

Wartime studies of industrial workers revealed an extraordinary psychological hangover among workers who remember the last depression—not only the wretched millions who went on relief and the WPA but also among those constantly employed. The CIO's program conceivably would turn major mass-production industries into something approaching profits-regulated public utilities, but the champions of the idea still conceive of government as the servant of the people, not their master.

WILLARD SHELTON

THE COURT AND THE TEN

We have now had Round Two in the great affair of Hollywood v. the screen writers charged with communism.

Last year, ten Hollywood writers and producers, under subpoena by the House Un-American Activities Committee, refused to say whether they were Communists. They were thereupon dismissed by the movie companies for which they worked, under the standard "morals clause" of Hollywood contracts, with an offer of reinstatement for any of them who would publicly deny membership in the Communist Party and/or belief in its doctrines. Several of the writers sued to get their jobs back, and one of them has now been victorious.

The jury in a Federal District Court gave a verdict favorable to Lester Cole, who had been getting $1,350 a week from Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. Federal District Judge Leon Yankwich phrased his charge so that the jury could scarcely have given any other verdict, pointing out that the studio continued to employ Cole for about a month after the Washington hearings, and thereby tacitly sanctioned what he had done, and in effect waived its right to discharge him.

Judge Yankwich went much further. He insisted that the dismissal of the ten men had nothing to do with the morals clause in their contracts but was part of an anti-Communist crusade conducted by Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Producers Association, whom he excoriated. Judge Yankwich conceded the right of the producers to have an anti-Communist policy, but insisted that a contract cannot be violated for reasons not in any-

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body's thoughts when it was signed.

There, for the moment, the matter rests. The decision will undoubtedly be appealed. The movie companies will presumably write anti-Communist clauses into their future contracts. Cole gets $72,000 in back salary.

The problem of Communist Party members in the communications industries in a democratic country is admittedly a difficult one. It is worth remembering, however, that neither the Un-American Activities Committee, Eric Johnston nor anyone else has been able to find an authentic instance of Communist propaganda's getting on the screen because of the efforts of radicals in the movie colony. Under such circumstances the dismissals of the Hollywood Ten had a strong aroma of persecution. It is a good thing, we think, that Judge Yankwich has now denounced this persecution in such vigorous terms.

NEW FACES IN CONGRESS

This is the third of a series on new members of the 81st Congress.

NEITHER OF THE TWO new members of California's congressional delegation conforms to the conventional idea of a liberal. Cecil F. White, of Fresno, and Clinton D. McKinnon, from San Diego, are successful, hard-hitting businessmen making their first appearances in public office.

The environment of White, who defeated Representative B. W. "Bud" Gearhart (R), might well have turned him into a conservative, cliché-spouting Republican. He is a cotton grower and broker in the rich San Joaquin Valley, stronghold of the reactionary Associated Farmers. He looks like the man-of-distinction in the ads and supports his large family in the best traditions of the upper middle class.

An incident in the November campaign illustrates how White has diverged from the usual pattern. At a Democratic committee meeting on issues, the subject of state-senate reapportionment came up. One Democratic leader told White, "As an influential farmer, you are naturally against giving the cities more voice in the state senate. So to save you embarrassment, you can step outside while we discuss this problem."

"No, I'll stay," said White. "I've come to realize that my own personal and business interests aren't always those that will benefit the majority of the people. I've seen that it's best to try to improve things for the people as a whole, not the small groups. I'm for reapportionment."

He voted that way at the Democratic state convention. He is also for the 160-acre limitation rule in the Central Valley Power Project, which is anathema to nearly all other large-scale farmers.

Clinton McKinnon, the other new California face in Congress, managed to defeat one of the most articulate spokesmen for the real-estate lobbyists in the last Congress, Representative Charles K. Fletcher (R). To do it, McKinnon had the full support of all factions of labor, who were attracted by, among other things, his forthright stand in favor of public housing. That is a hot issue in San Diego, whose population has doubled and redoubled since prewar days because of Army, Navy and war-industry installations in the region.

McKinnon formerly was owner and publisher of the San Diego *Journal* and has a high financial rating in his community. Though most of the others of his income level in San Diego are Republicans, McKinnon has given all-out support to the Truman Administration, particularly on such issues as the Taft-Hartley Act.

Both McKinnon and White seem to have adopted liberal positions for common-sense reasons rather than intellectual ones. In the 81st Congress they can be expected to join with such colleagues as Helen Gahagan Douglas, Franck Havenner and Chet Holifield to make the California delegation one of the most potent forces for liberalism in the House.

OUTSIDE AMERICA

Marcel Peyrouton was Minister for Police Administration in the Vichy regime which the collaborators called a French government after the real government of France had been destroyed by the Germans. Anyone who knows what police administration meant in a regime blessed by the Nazis

won't have much difficulty guessing what his work amounted to. Accurate Vichy records weren't kept for the benefit of the free world, but French resisters held Peyrouton guilty of having jailed scores of patriotic Frenchmen, including Vincent Auriol, now the President of France, and Jules Moch, now the Minister of the Interior. Peyrouton also was Vichy's Minister of the Interior and as such canceled the Republic's decree that forbade discrimination against the Jews.

But Peyrouton was a sworn enemy of Pierre Laval, who, for all his black deeds, had the guts when the time of judgment came to defend himself and to go bravely to his deserved punishment—a traitor's death. And Peyrouton was a friend of Henri Philippe Pétain, who not only escaped death but became the hero-symbol of great numbers of half-traitors now swarming out from under flat rocks all over France.

So a French High Court of Justice, drawn by lot rather than from Resistance leaders, closed its eyes to the dreadful dark of the dead past and opened them to the doubtful light of a new political wave of the future; it decided that Peyrouton merely made "grave mistakes" and should be set free. By coincidence, the verdict of simple acquittal was handed down on the same day that Hideki Tojo and six other Japanese hung by the neck

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until dead in the courtyard of Tokyo's Sugamo Prison because they had made grave mistakes.

★

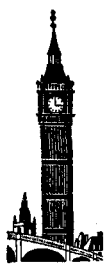
Argentina, wrote John Daly in a script prepared for the Columbia Broadcasting System, was a "large Chamber of Commerce." Humberto Rusi, of the Argentine post-office administration, changed it to a "large workers' republic." Daly said Colonel Peron wanted Argentina to replace US influence in Latin American affairs; Rusi changed "US influence" to "any foreign influence." A paragraph reporting that the former *descamisados* (shirtless ones) could now afford to go to night clubs was cut out; too materialistic, Rusi explained.

These and other changes weren't censorship, Señor Rusi insisted. Censorship doesn't exist in Peron's happy land. The changes were made for "cultural reasons."

★

Europeans of all the Western nations and all parties are beginning to call for a clarification of Anglo-US policy toward Germany. Even the conservative London *Economist*, which a few weeks ago was approving the return of the Ruhr to German control, is joining the chorus. It now says:

> What is needed at the present moment is a clarification and formal restatement of the Western Powers' policy for Germany. At present, policy in Germany is coming up for discussion all over the place — in the Humphreys Committee on dismantlement, in the fusion plans for Bizonia, in Western Germany's claims put forward to the Organization for Economic Coöperation in Paris, in the Six Power talks on the Ruhr. But the result is not so much a policy as a piece of patchwork that is being pulled and picked in different directions by rival interests and diplomacies. What is needed to end this confusion is a Foreign Ministers' conference of the three major powers of the West, together with the smaller countries concerned, to pull all these rough ends together into a coherent whole.
>
> Such a clarification requires two things of the British and the Americans. The first is a clear statement that they do not intend to make Western Germany a "military bulwark" and that the offer of a pact of demilitarization put forward by former Secretary of State Byrnes 18 months ago still stands. The second is more speed and inventiveness in securing a settlement for the Ruhr. The only solution that can at once reassure Germany's neighbors and avoid exasperating the Germans' aggrieved nationalism is one that extends to the steel industry in Western Europe as a whole the forms of control which are to be imposed upon the Germans. . . .



We agree that it is high time we changed a patchwork for a policy.

★

England's Henry II received from Pope Adrian IV the grant of Ireland "as an inheritance" on condition that he "reduce to order" the Irish Church and State. That was in 1155. A few years later men in the hire of the British crown started to fulfil the condition; but though they kept on trying through the centuries with varying degrees of guile and brutality, they never really succeeded. Again and again the Irish rose against the fire and fury of English oppressors like Oliver Cromwell, but when Wolfe Tone was beaten in 1798 the fight seemed over.

But it wasn't. Though Ireland was from 1800 until 1921 a part of the British Crown's Union in name, the Irish were reduced not to any order but to British disorder and misery. Their heroes were Tone, Patrick Sarsfield, Robert Emmet, Daniel O'Connell, Michael Collins and, later, the martyred heroes of the 1916 rebellion. And it has taken 27 more years for the interlocutory divorce between Gael and Anglo-Saxon to become final. Eire's President Sean T. O'Kelly has just signed a bill of the Oireachtas repealing the External Relations Act which empowered the British King to accredit Eire's diplomats. This cuts the last tie of Union, dissolves a marriage the Irish never recognized.

Eire is free. Erin go bragh. (And the six counties of Ulster?)

★

Berlin, which is cold and hungry, has a new mystic. His name is Jakob Kuny and he calls himself the prophet of the future; he preaches the "love stream of the spirit." His followers are some thousands of young men and women of the unemployed Hitlerjugend variety. They're sure Kunylogy is a whole lot better philosophy than Jean-Paul Sartre's existentialism.

A few hundred Kunyologists recently held a meeting, passed a resolution calling for renaming Berlin "Kunygrad," and marched through the streets of West Berlin to the Allied Control Council. Before the police could disperse them, they staged a demonstration, chanting, "One people, one Reich, one Kuny." Until the police heard what the Kunyologists' Führer was talking about, they couldn't understand why all these cold and hungry young people were listening open-mouthed and starry-eyed.

Kuny was discussing the warming power of animal magnetism and the spiritual glories of cooking, mostly cooking.

★

Stolpe is a German village on the fringe of the Soviet zone, just outside the French sector of Berlin. The French asked for and got the village as the site of a projected airfield. For three years the 400 villagers lived peacefully as farmers, supplying milk and other farm products to the French. Assuming that they were safe from the Russians, all but 28 of them voted anti-Communist in the recent elections.

But the French built their airfield at Tegel, farther within their sector, and last month, to protect airlift planes, they destroyed two towers belonging to the Russian radio station. Anticipating Russian wrath and reprisals, they pulled their men out of Stolpe, leaving the unprotected villagers to answer for their anti-Communist votes. Of course, the French had encouraged the men and women of Stolpe to speak up for the West. What are 372 human beings when it's a matter of *la haute politique?*

P. W.

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RUSSIAN SCIENCE AND HERESY

Soviet geneticists embroiled in the Lysenko controversy are painfully reminded of how Galileo was made to eat his words

by Joseph P. Lash

THE OFFICIAL REPUDIATION of the Varga school of economics in the Soviet Union which we discussed in our first article was a severe blow to chances for an East-West rapprochement. But that the social sciences had to keep in step with the changes in Soviet political strategy has long been accepted as an unfortunate though indisputable fact.

When, however, the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party aligns itself with one faction in Soviet biology and decrees the truth of the long-discarded view that acquired characteristics can be inherited, the scientific basis of the modern world is threatened; the specter of the Dark Ages rises again to plague mankind.

Modern science was born in a revolt against a theological authoritarianism which deduced its laws of natural phenomena from a divinely revealed canon and rejected as heresy any experimental evidence that contradicted revealed truth. Every schoolboy knows the story of Galileo, who, forced by the Church to recant the heretical notion that the earth moved, under his breath murmured, "But it does move." The full implications of the Central Committee's declaration on acquired characteristics becomes clear when the eminent Soviet geneticist, Professor Anton Zhebrak, who was the scientific representative on the Soviet delegation at San Francisco, writes: "I, as a party member, do not consider it possible for me to retain the views which have been recognized as erroneous by the Central Committee of our party."

Even as loyal a Communist as the eminent English biologist, J.B.S. Haldane, had become sufficiently uneasy over such developments as to venture, at the Wroclaw Congress of Intellectuals, a public criticism of a Soviet secretiveness that prevented him and his friends from knowing the truth about the genetics controversy in the Soviet Union. Haldane, however, is at this point almost alone in maintaining that the materials available concerning the genetics controversy are inadequate to permit objective observers outside the USSR to form a judgment. Professor H. J. Muller of Indiana University, a Nobel Prize-winner in genetics, recently renounced his membership in the Soviet Academy of Sciences following the purge of classical geneticists. Professor Muller personally took the first specimens of *Drosophila* to Moscow for experimental purposes. In the thirties he lectured on genetics in Moscow for three years and in 1936 published a book in which he was willing to declare that only in the Soviet Union could the immense potentialities of genetic research be realized because the "fundamental changes in the economic basis have already been established." His resignation cannot be dismissed as an anti-Soviet gesture.

Sir Henry Dale, Nobel Prize-winner in medicine, likewise has resigned his membership in the Soviet Academy. Even the *Modern Quarterly,* which is the English equivalent of *Science and Society* (a Marxist quarterly in the US), published several articles by English geneticists highly critical of the developments in the Soviet Union in this field. It is precisely because the genetics controversy is so well-documented that it can serve as a case study of how a new ideological authoritarianism is subjugating and perverting science in the USSR.

The Soviet Union always was generous in its encouragement to all scientific work, but it was particularly lavish with genetics and biology. As early as 1921 a fledgling institute of agricultural sciences was started, and under the energetic and enthusiastic leadership of N. I. Vavilov developed a network of field stations over the vast reaches of the USSR. By the early thirties the staffs of these stations numbered 20,000 workers. Basing their work on the findings of Mendel and Morgan, Soviet geneticists began to make outstanding contributions in both the theoretical and practical fields. These accomplishments as well as Vavilov's extensive journeys abroad to establish scientific contacts attracted worldwide attention and created a sympathetic interest in the Soviet experiment among geneticists.

In the thirties a plant-breeder by the name of Trofim D. Lysenko, who had achieved a certain fame in connection with the "vernalization" of wheat, teamed up with a professor of Darwinism, I. I. Prezent, to deliver an assault on the Mendel-Morgan school which was then dominant in Soviet genetics. Classical genetics, this pair asserted, did not conform with Marxist materialism. It contradicted Darwin, one of the minor gods in the Soviet ideological pantheon. It did not yield practical results.

While it was suspected that the Soviet government gave encouragement to Lysenko, it came as a shock to the scientific world when Lysenko displaced Vavilov and the latter disappeared. After the war it was learned that he had died in Siberia in 1942. Despite persistent rumors of an extensive purge, geneticists abroad, although inclined to dismiss Lysenko's views as a form of "militant obscurantism," pointed out that the majority of Soviet biologists and scientists continued to base their work on the Mendel-Morgan theories. As late as 1946 eminent geneticists like Eric Ashby, R. G. Davies, Hudson, Richens and L. C. Dunn could still point to flourishing schools of orthodox geneticists whose work they regarded as the most advanced in the world.

The events of 1947-48, however,

This is the second of four articles on the ideological purge in Russia. The third will deal with music, art and literature.

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shattered the last hope that Soviet science might be spared the humiliation of having to repudiate its own empirical findings. Not one scientific discipline was left untouched by the postwar ideological purge which struck uniformly at every phase of Soviet intellectual life.

The final drama started with the dismissal of Professor Zhebrak from his post in the White Russian Academy of Sciences and his public denunciation in *Pravda* for unpatriotic acts. Zhebrak's crime had been to write a letter to the American publication *Science* in which, in the course of defending Soviet science, he had entered a mild disavowal of Lysenko:

> As an agronomist, Academician Lysenko has put forward a number of practical suggestions which have been of great value to the Soviet government. Many Soviet geneticists are, however, sharply critical of his theories about genetics, and in no way support his attempt to reëxamine and discard a number of the fundamental postulates of our sciences. . . . The Soviet Government has never interfered in the discussions of the genetics question which have now been raging for some ten years. . . .

Pravda's denunciation of Zhebrak was essentially an attack on the unity and universality of science itself:

> Zhebrak, as a Soviet scientist, ought to have unmasked the class meaning of the struggle taking place in connection with the problem of genetics. But, blinded by bourgeois prejudices, by a contemptible subservience to bourgeois science, he adopted the views of the enemy camp. . . . For A. Zhebrak there exists such a thing as "pure science."

In the summer of 1948 a three-day session of the Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences was keynoted by Academician Lysenko. His report was largely a political and ideological harangue. He posed the issue in biology as one between two diametrically opposed trends: "the progressive, materialist, Michurin trend [Michurin was an outstanding plant-breeder, the Soviet "Burbank" and like Burbank contemptuous of genetic theory] and the reactionary, idealist, Weismann-Mendel-Morgan trend." Lysenko defended Lamarck: the materialist theory of evolution compelled recognition of the inheritance of acquired characteristics.

He complained that practitioners of Michurinian genetics had been in a minority in the laboratories and universities, but that, thanks to the Communist Party and J. V. Stalin "personally," the situation had been changed. He bore down heavily on his oft-repeated claim of the uselessness of the Mendel-Morgan experimentation. And, in concluding the conference, he said he deemed it his duty "to make the following statement. The question is asked in one of the notes handed to me: What is the attitude of the Central Committee of the Communist Party to my report. I answer: The Central Committee of the Communist Party examined my report and approved it."

This is not the place for a discussion of the science of genetics nor is this writer competent to argue the merits of the Mendel-Morgan theories versus those of the Lysenko school. We can only report that careful investigation has revealed no geneticist outside of the USSR who is willing to defend the position taken by Lysenko. In 1946, Hudson and Richens in England published a painstaking study of the experimental evidence submitted by Lysenko in support of his theories, a study which was hailed as a model of impartiality and fairness. On the basis of it the English geneticist, R. G. Davies, writing in a publication friendly to the Soviet Union, declared: "The inescapable conclusion is that the rejection of orthodox genetics and its replacement by the form of Lamarckism advocated by Lysenko, Prezent, Dolgusin and their followers is quite unjustified by the experimental evidence which they submit." While Haldane still refuses to pass final judgment on Lysenko's work, he too has written: "In the controversy between Vavilov and Lysenko, I would personally give Vavilov best on most points."

One does not have to be a student of genetics to appreciate the destructiveness of the purge which has accompanied the Central Committee's endorsement of Lysenko. After Lysenko's bombshell, the Presidium of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences concluded its 1948 sessions with a letter to Stalin promising that the Academy would correct its mistakes in biology and sweep out foreign bourgeois ideological thought. Simultaneously it announced a drastic reorganization: Orbeli, an outstanding Soviet physiologist, was dismissed as Secretary of the Academy's biology section; Schmalhausen was dismissed as director of the Institute of Evolutionary Morphology; the Institute of Cytology, headed by Dubinin, was abolished. Mendel-Morgan supporters were expelled from the councils of the biological institutes and from the editorial boards of biology magazines.

A month later the Academy of Medical Sciences was convened and leaders in physiology, bacteriology, epidemiology and virology were raked across the ideological coals for supporting "Mendelian views," for spreading idealistic theories and for researches not giving practical results. Another letter to Stalin went to *Pravda*, this time from the Medical Academy Presidium, promising to reconstruct all its scientific research on the basis of the Lysenko-Michurin theories.

Late in September, 1948, the mathematical basis of statistics came under fire and leading Soviet statisticians were accused of a "tendency toward formalistic theory, regarding statistics as a sum of abstract mathematical propositions and results." Statistical textbooks were criticized for neglecting immediate vital problems and for a lack of "militant criticism of contemporary bourgeois theories and methods of statistics."

In November the heavy guns were turned on the physicists, particularly those working in atomics. This attack had been presaged a year earlier when Zhdanov, in the course of laying down the line in philosophy, had taken time out to shake a finger at contemporary physics, which he accused of supplying clericalism with new arguments. He ridiculed Eddington's theory of the physical constants of the world and the attempts to represent matter "as

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only some combination of waves and other such nonsense." He went after the astronomer Milne for his estimation that the world was created two billion years ago. He cited Bacon to the effect that this was to turn the impotence of science into a libel against nature. And the followers of Einstein were accused of a "failure to understand the dialectical process of knowledge" since as a result they transposed the "laws of motion of the finite, limited sphere of the universe to the whole infinite universe and arrive at the idea of the finite nature of the world, its limitedness in time and space." By 1948 the attack on the physicists had become more directly political. They were told to join in the "ruthless struggle against reactionary idealism and formalism" being carried out on all sectors of the cultural front.

Certain conclusions are inescapable: A spirit of nationalism which is completely alien to the scientific method and spirit is being foisted by the political leaders onto Soviet science. Science and scientists are being exalted because they are "Soviet," and others are attacked because they are "foreign." Professor Kapitza, the most eminent of Soviet physicists, could write in 1943 stressing the importance of contacts with scientists in other countries "because science throughout the world comprises one indivisible whole." Today such a declaration would be treason.

This latter-day emphasis on a peculiarly "Soviet" science has another aspect which is equally disturbing. Lamarckism, the newly enthroned gospel in genetics which asserts that environment can change heredity, was used in the nineteenth century to provide a pseudo-scientific justification for the maintenance of class privilege. It was argued that the upper classes had actually become hereditarily superior because of superior environmental conditions. Conversely, this doctrine can in the Soviet Union provide a pseudo-scientific justification for arguing that Soviet man, reared in a socialist environment, has already acquired a superiority which separates him from other breeds of men. And such a doctrine has inevitably been associated with an insistence on the right such superiority gives to lead and control the less fortunate.

Just as Varga's economic data and conclusions were attacked because they were presumed to contradict the canons of Marxism, so biologists and physicists are having their work rejected because it does not accord with Darwinism and dialectical materialism. In point of fact Darwinism today is based on a well-developed and mathematically based theory of heredity and selection, and Marxists such as Haldane and Prenant have written extensively on the concordance between classical genetics and dialectical materialism. Nevertheless, even if there were a conflict between a philosophical generalization and a body of empirically verified propositions, should the latter be rejected or the philosophical generalization modified? To reject the empirical evidence is to exalt certain theoretical views, attributing to them a higher form of truthfulness and certainty, which is precisely the mysticism and idealism of which the ideologists are accusing their opponents.

The necessity of rejecting well-established, experimentally verified theories for political and ideological reasons leads to a questioning of scientific method itself. Ashby reports: "It was a member of Lysenko's staff who told me that Darwin's work is convincing without statistics; why should anyone require statistical evidence of Lysenko's work?"

The attack on pure science for its failure to yield practical results reveals a narrow-minded, self-defeating philistinism. Lysenko derided Dubinin's work with *Drosophila*, a fly which is a favorite with geneticists because in one year it completes thirty generations. After all, it is only a "fly," and concern with such trivialities, according to Lysenko, "is typical of the Morganists' 'contribution' to science and practical activity before and during the war." But the practicality of Lysenko's approach is highly debatable. J. L. Fyfe, an English biologist sympathetic to the Soviet Union, has concluded that Lysenko's influence caused serious losses to the USSR:

> In North America plant breeding avowedly based on genetics has two successes to its credit—hybrid corn and rust-resistant wheat—which are so striking that it has been seriously argued that they did more than any other discovery or invention towards winning the war. Plant breeding in the USSR cannot claim successes of this magnitude. . . . All that one can say is that until Lysenko took charge, the main trend of Soviet breeding was along lines similar to those which produced results elsewhere; since his rise there has been a tendency away from these lines.

And in atomic physics, which is preeminently a body of knowledge fed by scientists from many nations, it is difficult to see how Soviet science can make serious advances if contact with foreign physicists is tantamount to treason and use of theories developed abroad a slavish truckling to bourgeois foreigners.

Scientists sympathetic with communism have traditionally spoken of the Marxist philosophy as the culminating step in man's understanding and mastery of the world. It was, they pointed out, rigidly rational and free of mysticism because it did not have to make obeisance either to traditions or vested interests. Dialectical materialism they have claimed to be a fruitful directive principle in their thinking but one that was not advanced by Marxists as a substitute for the rigors of scientific method. And in the USSR alone, they maintained, was the untrammeled extension of scientific knowledge possible, and the fullest utilization of scientific discovery for humanity's advancement.

It is no longer possible to hold this position. Whether Marxism carries within itself the seeds of its own deformation, or whether the distortions reported here arise from the historical circumstances of Russia's backwardness, is a matter for careful study. What is indisputable is that Soviet communism now challenges the foundations of human knowledge itself.

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IMPERIALIST FOLLY IN INDONESIA

by Ketut Tantri

THE DUTCH INVASION of the territory of the Indonesian Republic was a triumph for the worst kind of old-fashioned European imperialism in its least just and most brutal form. Fear prompted the invaders—fear that a free plebiscite would result in a defeat for Dutch imperialism. According to the Renville Agreement negotiated by the UN Committee of Good Offices, the plebiscite was to have been held this month. And it was the knowledge that the forces of freedom would be validated by the voting that led the Dutch authorities to set up puppet states, to go through the motions of creating an East Indian federation, to break off negotiations with Jogjakarta and finally to use the argument of blind force.

The puppet states are called democratic by the Dutch, who imposed them from above, but not a single one rests on the consent of the people. For example, the newest one in East Java takes in the most strongly revolutionary section of the island. It was here, around Surabaya, that the "extremist" army of the Red Buffalo led by Sutomo, a young newspaperman who became the revolution's most fabulous leader, held back both the Dutch and the British with blow darts and bamboo spears. This was a spontaneously created army made up of peasants who poured in from the countryside.

I remember one gaunt farmer who came into headquarters carrying under his tattered jacket a repeating blow-dart gun he had invented after seeing a machine gun. He was dismayed when he learned that he could not get near enough the Dutch to use the weapon. A few days later he returned with 300 men armed with giant bamboo blow darts; he explained that after the darts had been shot, the poles could be used as clubs. His troop made excellent snipers.

Ketut Tantri, an American of British birth, spent 14 years in Indonesia. Imprisoned by the Japanese as an American spy, she was released by the Indonesians and broadcast as "The Voice of Free Indonesia."

Despite the success of the Dutch invasion, there are plenty of men such as these waiting in the hills for a chance to fight for freedom. The fight will be much harder now, of course, because Dutch paratroopers captured President Soekarno, beloved leader of his people, better able than any other man to unite them.

For a quarter of a century, Soekarno has been the living embodiment of the hope of freedom, whether he was banished for life to the "green hell" malarial Flores or uniting the Indonesians in a civil administration under the Japanese. No one who has not seen him speaking to his people can understand his remarkable influence with them. They would come down from the hills, walking great distances and carrying a bit of rice in a banana leaf, and sit patiently for three or four days about the square of a town in which the President was to speak.

They would barricade the railroad tracks to stop his train at unplanned stops, surrounding it with banners, asking him to speak to them. I have seen people, after waiting for nearly a week to hear the President, get up in silent disappointment and walk away when it was announced that Soekarno was suffering from an attack of malaria and would be represented by the Prime Minister; and I have seen Soekarno, shaking with fever, supported by two doctors who had forbidden him to speak, mount the platform and talk to these people while tears rolled down their cheeks.

Soekarno is no fiery orator, no demagogue. He holds the people because he speaks to them as a father, and dedicates himself to their liberation from foreign rule. No matter how many puppet federated states the Dutch may carve out, no matter what else they may do, Soekarno in captivity will be more than ever the idol of 70 million Indonesians.

All along, the US was exerting diplomatic pressure in favor of holding the plebiscite, and also in favor of lifting the Dutch economic blockade of Indonesia, at least to the extent of letting into the republic desperately needed textiles. It was unfortunate that the good offices of the US should have been kept secret while the Indonesians were being embittered by the public support given by the United States to Dutch efforts to keep the republic from getting associate membership in the UN economic commission. Perhaps the US initiative in bringing the invasion before the Security Council will restore America's good name in the Islands.

The blockade was carried out through Dutch distortions of the terms of the "export-import controls" system put into effect in January, 1947, after the Linggadjati Agreement by which the Dutch gave de-facto recognition to the republic. The Indonesians were prevented from importing such articles as khaki, needles, rolling stock, tires, oxygen, steel, sulphur, copper wire. Sometimes even medicines and surgical instruments were considered contraband.

The food which once came from other parts of Java was cut off. Inflation was made worse by the presence of more than a million refugees from Dutch-held territory. The price of a kilo of rice skyrocketed at the outbreak of the Communist revolt. People were in rags. Medical supplies dwindled. In October there were only 90 codein and 14 novocain-adrenalin tablets in the country, and the hospitals were using banana leaves for bandages.

Dutch rule will make matters worse for the Indonesians, already desperate after three years of Japanese occupation and three more of strangulation by the blockade. Desperate people are dangerous, especially when they have forceful leadership. And this they have in the person of a leader whom the Dutch did not capture—former Prime Minister Amir Sjari-

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foeddin, who some time ago broke with the government and joined the Communists, taking with him the left-wing Socialist Party; his own Socialist Youth Party, one of the strongest in the republic; and several other progressive organizations.

One of the effects of the Dutch capture of the republic's other leading statesmen will be to strengthen the position of Sjarifoeddin and, hence, of the Communists. It must be pointed out that communism in the republic is more a nationalist movement than an acceptance of the ideology of Moscow. Only a few of the European-educated leaders understand Communist doctrine; the large majority of party members regard it as a means of expressing their economic distress. On this basis, the Communist Party in Indonesia has grown from 20,000 members to 200,000, with a Red Army of its own.

And the commander of this army is Sjarifoeddin himself. Every few days he is reported killed, captured or about to be tried for treason. In reality he is still alive. This pint-sized general is barely five feet tall. When he was Minister of Defense, he looked so much like a small boy dressing up in a uniform that he preferred to go about in an unadorned khaki blouse. He is a dynamic strategist and, next to the President, the most influential man in the republic. He is also one of the President's oldest friends.

Sjarifoeddin is no Communist by ideology. Disillusioned by the failure of the US and the other democratic Western nations to support the republic against Dutch exploitation, he finally decided that if help was to come, it had to come from Soviet Russia. Now many other Indonesians probably will agree with him, and the Dutch will have performed a great disservice to the cause of democracy itself.

Ironically, the leader of the Indonesia "Communists" (and now of all the Indonesians) had been a militant democrat and moderate socialist since the start of his political career. The son of a wealthy and aristocratic Sumatran family, he was sent to Holland to school at the age of 14 and spent a number of years in the universities of Haarlem and Leiden. When he returned to Indonesia to study law at the University of Batavia, he spoke five languages fluently. A musician (a violinist of some ability), a writer and a connoisseur of modern Indonesian art, he soon became a leader among the young intellectuals.

Sjarifoeddin became the chief executive of the National Students' Movement, and when it was banned by the Dutch, joined Soekarno's moderate Indonesian Nationalist Party. From then on, he was a leader in the succession of nationalist parties that sprang up as quickly as they were suppressed by the Dutch.

Two of these years young Sjarifoeddin (he is now only 41) spent in prison. On his release from a second arrest, the Dutch offered him a high position in the Ministry of Economic Affairs to keep him out of politics. Sjarifoeddin accepted in the belief that he could work more effectively for nationalism at large than in exile or in prison.

When the Japanese arrived, he was in an excellent position to collaborate with the "liberators," but he refused. Instead he began to organize an underground movement, traveling up and down Java dressed as a *kuli* (peasant), carrying dispatches, coördinating resistance and managing to send food and many thousand guilders into the prison camps. Of this last work I knew personally because I was one of the agents through whom the food and money found their way into the camps. Before a year of the Japanese occupation had passed, Sjarifoeddin was captured, tortured, and when he refused to betray his followers, condemned to death. Through the influence of Soekarno, the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.

When Soekarno, in the period between the surrender of the Japanese and the arrival of the British, welded the Indonesian Republic into a functioning government, Sjarifoeddin became Minister of Information in the first cabinet. His training in the law was invaluable. Then he became Minister of Defense because he was better able than any other leader to form a national army out of the armed resistance groups all over Java and Sumatra. Cabinets rose and fell but Sjarifoeddin stayed on in his post until finally, when Prime Minister Sjahrir's concessions to the Dutch brought about his fall, Sjarifoeddin became Prime Minister as well.

Sjarifoeddin is a man of energy, purposefulness and original ideas. His wit, his great personal charm and his sense of humor complement a daring and resourceful mind. He is an excellent orator, an asset of great value to a country which has a low level of literacy.

When the Indonesians appealed to the UN and were failed by the US; and when the truce decreed by the Security Council confirmed the Dutch in all their aggressions since the signing of the Agreement of Linggadjati, Sjarifoeddin believed that something had to be done to break the stalemate. An expert publicist, he probably wanted to find some dramatic way of attracting the attention of the Western nations to the danger that this sterile truce held for the democratic governments of the West as well as for Indonesia. Joining the Communist uprising was the means he took.

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LET'S LOOK AT THE LOBBIES

Hard at work on the 81st Congress are the smooth talkers for special interests who always operate best in the dark

by Helen Fuller

CAREER LOBBYISTS in Washington are as elated over the results of the election as the most ardent Democrats. The substantial Republican businessmen who pay their salaries now need them more than ever.

Before November 2, all was gloom in the lobbyist hangouts. Dewey, they assumed, was coming to town. With his coming, they knew, many of them would go. Their "influence" game, which had paid so well during the stormy New Deal years, would surely be *de trop* under the friendly reign of Good King Tom and a solidly Republican Congress.

Now, with Harry Truman keeping up a steady New Deal fire for at least four more years, the high-pressure artists are facing the future with confidence. Downtown hotels like the Mayflower and the Washington have had a gratifying number of lease renewals on their better suites. The National Press Club is far gayer for the lobbyists' new suits and shining faces. The invisible congress of lobbyists is already hard at work.

Presumably, some of Truman's election success stemmed from his violent opposition to lobbying tactics, since he devoted so much of his campaign to attacks on the special-privilege pressure groups. Unquestionably, they will continue to be a major threat to his program in the new Congress. The President himself is fully aware of how great a menace they can be. When the International Association of Machinists' monthly publication came out with an editorial demanding a congressional investigation of lobbying, Truman publicly endorsed the proposal. None of the President's supporters doubts that he will fight undue group pressure on Congress with all the force at his command. However, few of them realize how difficult a task this may be, how deeply entrenched certain powerful lobbies are, and how untried the weapons for dealing with them.

The latest official records show that there are 1,383 registered lobbyists operating in Washington, almost three for every congressman. More than 900 organizations are now registered, but experts agree that this represents only a small fraction of the groups actually engaged in attempting to influence Congress. The Lobby Registration Act of 1946 was so vague in many of its provisions that hundreds of organizations, on advice of counsel, have refused to register on the ground that the law does not apply to them.

Only a small number of the individuals and organizations which have registered have filed the financial reports required under the Lobby Act. But even those few reported spending more than $5 million during the first session of the 80th Congress. And for 1948, with fewer than one-fourth of those registered reporting, the total amounts $5.6 million.

Under the threat of a further extension of the New Deal by a Democratic House and Senate, the sums spent on lobbying in 1949 are sure to be far larger.

The interests which benefited from Republican policies must fight hard to retain the spoils given them by their friends in the 80th Congress—the tax cuts, the anti-labor laws, the monopolies in transportation and power. They must somehow prevent the passage of price control, public housing, health insurance, federal aid to education, and increased social-security legislation if their heavy profits are not to be drained off in taxes to support these reforms.

In most of these fields, the special-privilege lobbies are well-equipped for the coming emergency. The real-estate lobby, the aid-the-rich tax lobby, the railroad lobby and the medical lobby were high on the list of big spenders during recent Congresses. Unless newly elected Senators and Representatives receive some kind of special short course on how to tell a lobby when you see one and how to act when you do, these experienced propagandists probably will make serious inroads on the Administration's majority.

Ever since the Senate Lobby Investigating Committee, under Hugo Black of Alabama, closed its doors in 1936, Washington lobbyists have been allowed to flourish in comparative privacy. The Lobby Registration Act which went into operation two years ago has forced the disclosure of only a few of the lobbies' secrets. Only one reporting service, the *Congressional Quarterly*, has systematically publicized even the meager facts obtainable from these records.

Nothing less than another full congressional investigation will produce the kind of detailed information that members of Congress need in order to evaluate the advice and counsel they constantly receive. There is, however, enough miscellaneous information on the activities of a few of the biggest and most prominent lobbying groups to indicate what Congress and the Administration will be up against in the coming year.

Housing

The first indictment for failure to register under the Lobbying Act was brought against one of the most prominent members of the real-estate lobby, the United States Savings and Loan League. This "non-profit trade organization," representing some 3,600 building and loan associations with total assets of about $9 billion, for years has exerted a powerful influence on all legislation relating to housing and home finance. Its director, Morton Bodfish of Chicago, operates discreetly behind the scenes. His name is almost unknown compared with that of such other top real-estate

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lobbyists as Herbert U. Nelson, of the National Association of Real Estate Boards.

Bodfish has always relied on a member association's putting pressure on local congressmen for the measures he supports. He had succeeded so well and for so long with this "indirect" lobbying that he neglected to register the Savings and Loan League when the Lobby Registration Act went into effect. We therefore have no way of knowing how much the Bodfish group is spending to block public housing.

The National Association of Home Builders, with which the League works hand in glove, ranked as one of the top spending groups both last year and this. The NAHB reports spending $203,014 for 1948. The National Association of Real Estate Boards lists its current lobby expenditures at $96,268. This figure does not include the dollars spent by local real-estate boards in grass-roots work. The National Home and Property Owners Foundation, a NAREB subsidiary, reported spending almost $120,000 last year on its own.

Backing up the regular real-estate interests in the anti-public housing campaign were three mainstays of the tories in all Washington lobby battles: the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce of the US, and Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government. All three avidly lobbied against the Taft-Ellender-Wagner long-range-housing bill as well as against the continuation of rent control. The National Apartment Owners Association and the Property Owners Association of America, small-time groups by comparison, helped wherever willing hands were needed.

As of mid-1948, it was hard to find any registered group which had invested more in lobbying than the real-estate boys. Their money was spent to ensure as little housing legislation as possible, except for a few financial features which would benefit real-estate men at least as much as future home owners. The Congress this lobby set out to influence voted no public housing, no slum clearance, no urban redevelopment or rural housing. It voted a 15-percent "voluntary" rent increase for the landlords and ordered the sale of temporary government housing to private interests not later than December 31, 1949.

Within the last two weeks, the big six of the anti-housing lobby have announced their intention of continuing the fight against low-rent public housing and slum clearance in the new Congress. The NAM is for special legislation to provide houses for paraplegic veterans, leaving the remainder of the housing problem to the states. The housing lobby still stands on the motto of one of its members: "Poor people belong in poor houses."

Welfare

Federal aid to education and the extension of social security are opposed by much more limited groups. Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government is one of the few in outright opposition to increased social-security benefits. Although the Constitutional Government group has nothing like the national reputation of the NAM, it is no small factor on the Washington scene. Organized and supported by violent isolationist tories like Gannett and former Representative Samuel Pettengill, the committee is second only to the medical lobby in the amount of expenditure reported under the Lobby Act—$345,140 as of September 30, 1948.

Lower taxes on wealth and more restrictions on labor are the two main objectives of Gannett's organization. Preventing any extension of social security is a natural corollary, and the staff has instructions to whittle away at the coverage and benefits of the Act and work to decrease the present rate of tax contributions made by employers.

The Chamber of Commerce is allied with the Committee for Constitutional Government in strong opposition to federal aid to education. Taking its cue from the Dixiecrat states' righters, the chamber argues that a permanent federal-aid program would mean bureaucratic control; that education is the job of the states. For ten years now, with the coöperation of a large number of states'-rights representatives, this lobby has successfully blocked action on all aid to education bills.

Health

Since November, 1945, when the Wagner-Murray-Dingell National Health Bill was first introduced, organized medicine has been battling to prevent its passage. The National Physicians Committee was formed for the specific purpose of fighting the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. It has employed the most modern public-relations techniques to pin the label "socialized medicine" on the Administration's plan for federal health insurance and has spent more than any other group reporting under the Registration Act so far this year—$353,990 as of September 30. (A large share of the committee's income came from drug manufacturers.)

Last year's major defense campaign was staged at a time when the Administration was not pushing especially hard for the health-insurance bill. President Truman now is in deadly earnest about enacting a comprehensive health program in this Congress. Since it recommends far greater services, the comprehensive ten-year program worked out by Federal Security Administrator Oscar R. Ewing at Truman's direction is certain to be bitterly opposed by organized medicine.

At its recent convention, the American Medical Association—the closed shop for doctors—laid plans for defending itself against the new program. Their lobbying program for 1949 will have an initial budget of $3.5 million to be raised through a per-capita tax of $25 on each of the AMA's 140,000 members. The full-page ads denouncing "socialized medicine," the pleasant after-dinner speeches AMA officials made at gatherings all over the country, the doctor-to-congressman letters which inundated congressional mail bags last year are to be repeated.

The Administration does not relish

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the enmity of the doctors of the land, but as Ewing has said, "There are 140,000,000 citizens needing medical services in the United States and there are 140,000 doctors. Put on a scale, which outweighs the other?"

Controls and Taxes

Stabilization of the economy to give everyone a more equitable share remains, as it was in the 80th Congress, the prime objective of the Administration and the prime target of the special-privilege lobbies. The useless program of "voluntary" controls passed by the "do-nothing" 80th Congress is as far as these pressure groups are willing to have the government go in regulating the economy. The cattle, dairy, oil, lumber and other wealthy interests led the fight along with the usual big guns, like the NAM, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Southern States Industrial Council. They are planning to give the anti-controls fight in Congress an even higher priority on the lobbyists' assignment sheets next year.

The kind of tax program Congress passes will determine how many of his campaign promises Truman can keep. To maintain the present military and foreign-aid programs, with no increases, and provide a few of the most basic social needs will require a national budget for 1949-50 of at least $45 billion.

The NAM is on record as opposing any more than a $37 billion budget for next year, and the phalanx of other organizations which lobbied for aid-the-rich tax legislation in the last Congress will undoubtedly follow its lead on this line.

The Knutson tax bill, passed over President Truman's veto, was put through by perhaps the strongest united front of the well-to-do ever seen in the 80th Congress. Such groups as the Association of American Railroads, the Investment Bankers of America, the National Association of Electric Companies, the National Retail Dry Goods Association, and the ever-present NAM, Chamber of Commerce and Committee for Constitutional Government pressured the House Ways and Means Committee to delegate its job to an "Advisory Committee" of Wall Street tax lawyers.

When Representative Knutson asked Congress for $25,000 to pay the expenses of these "advisers," Representative Cooper (D, Tenn.) warned: "You had better think this thing through before you act. Giving this money to a group dominated by Wall Street lawyers is going to look bad."

Well over a million dollars was reported spent on lobbying activities aimed at reducing personal, corporate and excise taxes in the 80th Congress, and only a sprinkling of the organizations which publicly proclaimed support for the tax-cut program have put their expenditures on the record.

In dozens of other fields, the special-privilege groups will likewise be mobilized either for more plunder or to protect their 80th Congress spoils. The American Butter Institute and milk producers' associations spent more than $150,000 during the first nine months of 1948 fighting repeal of the discriminatory tax on margarine. They, and the National Association of Margarine Manufacturers on the other side, are prepared to dig down even deeper to continue the battle in the new Congress.

Eighteen state governments made contributions last year to the campaign for state control of tidelands oil. As much as 100 billion barrels of oil may be at stake. Now that the Supreme Court has ruled that ownership rests with the federal government, the only chance for the big oil companies to get the profits from our oil-rich coastal shelf is for Congress to rewrite the law.

Men like the Attorney General of Nebraska, Walter Johnson, and William W. Clay, Assistant Attorney General of California, will undoubtedly be directing the tidelands lobby drive again this year. The annual meeting of the Conference of Southern Governors has pledged its full support for legislation giving control to the states. The American Petroleum Institute is readying its Washington office as a staff headquarters for the new drive.

The Natural Gas lobby is prepared to push Senate passage of its bill to limit the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission over natural gas. Two years ago, the House approved this gas-lobby grab bill, which would mean "perfectly tremendous profits" for the gas interests and a $56 million-a-year increase to consumers.

The railroads achieved one of their hearts' desires this year when the 80th Congress passed the Reed-Bulwinkle bill over the President's veto, and thus exempted rate-making agreements from the anti-trust laws. The Association of American Railroads reports spending in the neighborhood of $100,000 on lobbying in the first three-quarters of 1948. The American Shortline Railroad Association and some 50 other separately registered railroads helped push the measure through. These groups, plus all the powerful friends the railroads can muster, will be on hand to prevent the Administration from repealing the railroads' power "to increase rates without due regard for the public," as Senator Barkley has described the effect of Reed-Bulwinkle.

Power

The National Association of Electric Companies reports a total outlay of $228,089 for the first nine months of 1948; its 1947 figure was $256,742. In the last Congress, the lobbyists for the power companies succeeded in reducing appropriations for Interior Department substations and public power-transmission lines by $16 million. They obtained the elimination of a $4 million appropriation for a vital TVA steam plant. They blocked action on the proposed Missouri Valley Authority, the Columbia Valley Authority and the St. Lawrence Seaway.

The private power lobby was all set to make a killing with the help of a friendly Republican administration. It will not sacrifice what it won in the 80th Congress without first spending

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a vast amount of money to protect its gains. The NAEC has powerful allies with vast resources. A sizable chunk of the $55,000, which the Chamber of Commerce says went into lobbying in the first nine months of this year, was spent fighting public power. For one thing, the Chamber gave wide distribution to a very handsome pamphlet attacking the TVA. The National Reclamation Association reported spending $40,000 in 1947, but has not yet listed the much larger sum it must have invested in the 1948 anti-public power drive.

Purcell L. Smith is the highest-salaried lobbyist in Washington, according to the official reports (the NAEC pays him $65,000 per year). "I plan the strategy and direct the moves, but it is our power company executives who carry the ball," Smith says.

Harry Truman was really testifying to the effectiveness of Smith and his associates when he told Western audiences during the campaign: "You have been crudely and wickedly cheated by the power lobby in Washington, operating through the 80th Congress. The measures passed will result in bigger profits for the private power companies and higher living costs for the people."

Organized labor, of course, is also preparing to lobby for its interests. Experienced lobbyists and considerable funds will be available. But on the progressive side, except for organized labor, there is little in the way of experience or financial backing to count on.

Until the Lobby Registration Act has had time to shape up into a really effective law, until it has been clarified by court decision and amendment, and ways have been found to give wide currency to the information obtained through it, Congress will remain in the dark about the source and the representative quality of much of the pressure put upon it. The spotlight of a thorough congressional investigation into lobbying could help to dispel the darkness until a regular system of lobby regulation can be put into operation.

GUERRILLAS IN THE NEW ISRAEL

The militant factions that did so much to win the victory hold the key to the future and make the present uneasy

by J. L. Teller

ISRAEL's wartime strength and greatest peacetime peril lies in the doggedness, ruthlessness and self-abnegation of the veterans of her one-time underground groups, who although submerged in the larger structure of the Defense Army of Israel, have jealously retained their *esprit de corps*. It lies with the cocky Palmach youths who snort: "Politics be damned. We are strictly soldiers." The danger exists even though Israel Galilee and Colonel Sadeh, who shaped these young men into a fighting force and to whose voices their ears still are cocked, are Mapam leaders of passionate political convictions. It lies with the hard-bitten Irgunists and the ascetic, votive Sternists who for years lived double lives, forswearing confidence even in their next of kin, trusting only anonymous commands from a nationalist burning bush.

Irgunists boast that in the showdown over the arms ship *Altalena,* it was only Beigin's firm "no" that prevented them from disposing of Ben-Gurion's entire army. Commenting on their ex-chief's Freedom Movement, some say with amused sufferance that he should have left politicking to Ben-Gurion. They add, "We don't think we'll bother to vote. But if Beigin should ever call us to arms, we'll respond. Soldiering is a thing we know well."

A senior official in one of the Israeli ministries, for years engaged in Haganah's illicit immigrant traffic, remarked with a meditative sigh, "There is something basically corrosive about all underground work. It distorts your perspective. The distrust and duplicity I acquired in that work have been serious obstacles to my normal relations in this new post."

Israel may in the near future face a situation similar in some respects to that in the United States during the Reconstruction period after the Civil War. In a very real sense, Jewish statehood has been achieved concomitantly by guerrilla war against the British and civil war within Jewry itself; by incessant Irgun-Sternist pressure on the Jewish Agency; and, within that body, by David Ben-Gurion's purge of the aging Dr. Chaim Weizmann.

Neither the Irgun and the Sternists nor the Provisional Government of Israel under Ben-Gurion has yet made an earnest effort to rid itself of the bitter enmity that prevailed in mandate days. The Irgunists and Sternists still frankly regard the men at the helm of the Provisional Government as "deceitful" appeasers against whom a constant barrage of criticism must be maintained to discourage capitulation to pressures for compromise.

They insist that only violent intervention by the so-called terrorists restrained the officials from yielding at many decisive stages of the road to statehood. They claim the initiative for all illegal activity by the Jewish Agency in mandatory days. They disregard completely its remarkable constructive achievements, which, long before May 15, equipped Israel with the accouterments of statehood. And they are disdainful of the argument that the Jewish Agency, unlike Irgun, was handicapped by the need to operate simultaneously as a legal institution and as a sub-rosa body.

On the other hand, Ben-Gurion and an overwhelming body of public opinion regard the Irgunists and Sternists as incorrigible conspirators only biding time for a putsch. They brand the underground men as rebels because of their long-time defiance of the Jewish Agency, and they still smart at the reckless allegations made against them

This is the last of six articles on Israel by J. L. Teller.

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DRAWING BY HARRY DIX

by the "dissidents." They argue hotly and unreasonably that statehood was imminent anyhow, and that it might have been less costly but for the violence of the "terrorists."

Above all, they fear the dissidents as the first formidable threat to the socialist parties that for decades have held undisputed dominance in Israel. Moreover, in any balance sheet of motives and prejudices, one cannot discount the vested interests of the *vateekim* (early pioneers) whom young rebels are trying to dislodge from remunerative and honorary public posts, including some in the socialist parties.

Similarly, it would be naïve to discount the personal ambitions of Irgunist leaders as a factor in the continued tension. Many in the lower echelons are frank about it. They say, "We have brought Ben-Gurion to power, and what have we to show for it?"

The Freedom Movement is said to contain a right wing and a left wing, the latter called the Strasser wing by those who make obvious, yet inappropriate, European analogies. The top leadership, including Beigin, has come from the ranks of the Revisionist Party, which for years was engaged in a running battle with the labor elements supporting Dr. Weizmann, and used the Red smear as freely against labor as the latter used the Fascist smear against them.

Wealthy men in Israel, among them Mayor Israel Rokach of Tel Aviv and Mayor Oved Ben-Ami of Nathanya, are said to have fitfully but amply financed Irgun in the hope of dislodging labor's influence. It seems improbable, however, that Beigin and his colleagues will close their careers simply by perpetuating the rich, whose support for Irgun has often been at the point of a gun and who achieved notoriety for their excessive desire for a businessmen's settlement with the mandatory power.

The left wing consists of persons who came into Irgun directly, not through the Revisionist Movement. These are guerrillas uninhibited by doctrinaire prejudices and, because of their hazardous past, scornful of the bourgeoisie. Menachem Beigin, a Revisionist from early youth, is considered the binding force of the movement (he wrote its compromise platform with its basic ambiguities).

Beigin's unprepossessing personality—he is a slight man with somewhat simian features—undergoes a transformation when addressing crowds. He is unmatched in Israel as an orator, and there is ingenuous passion in his voice and unbridled gestures. He might have been too theatrical in the days when Israeli audiences consisted largely of sober, dialectically trained labor intellectuals. But present audiences—Jews from the DP camps and the Arab countries, a ferment of violence in their veins and easily aroused by a violent phrase—are more receptive.

Even among those who oppose Beigin, few question his integrity. After comparing Beigin to a European spellbinder of recent years, a Socialist veteran commented, "There is no doubt about it. He would die for the cause."

The Freedom Movement's Jacob Meridor started out with Beigin in the Revisionist Movement in Poland. Impetuous and ruthless, he was Irgun's military brains. His feats in escaping from British internment are Israeli legend. It is said that during the *Altalena* clash between Irgun and government troops, he pleaded with Beigin for all-out war and was ready to plunge the country into fratricide which would have extinguished the Jewish state.

The most unusual of the underground groups is Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, or the Stern Group. This was founded by the late Abraham Stern, poet and philosophy student, who with a group of followers broke away from Irgun when the latter offered to aid the British at the outbreak of World War II. Stern was killed by the British "while resisting arrest," and was succeeded by Nathan Friedman-Yellin, a Polish-born engineer who now leads several hundred Sternists. They are ascetic, dedicated intellectuals, contemptuous of status and wealth, neo-cabalists who coldly apply in Israel the principle of Russian nihilism that political ends may be achieved by individual terror.

It was not until recent months that the Sternists announced, by means of anonymous interviews, a two-point policy—the establishment of a socialist order as a domestic aim; and collaboration with the USSR in foreign affairs. The second point, like the Sternist insistence on fighting Britain while she was at war against Jewry's archenemy, Hitler, shows the essentially nihilist nature of the movement. In embracing Russia, they may have adopted a Samsonlike fatalism, giving vent to a morbid desire to see the Western world go down in ruins even as Jewish communities went down.

In the mandatory's prisons, where Jewish political prisoners of all kinds were thrown together, the Stern Group served as the bridge between Irgunists and Haganah men, and was equally respected by both organizations. When

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the Israeli state was established, the Sternists announced their unconditional dissolution and entry into the Defense Army of Israel. After the *Altalena* incident, however, they served notice that they might again go underground. And in October and November, during the UN discussions of the truce, they took some steps in this direction. They sent a series of warnings to the Israeli government that they would resume their guerrilla warfare if the new state granted concessions, particularly the relinquishment of the city of Jerusalem to an international authority. They also began once more the operation of their clandestine radio station as in pre-Israel days.

Nevertheless, they did not abandon wholly their above-ground work. They continued, for example, to labor to create the basis for a party of their own—an activity they had begun before Count Bernadotte was struck down. And their attitude toward this crime was different from what it had been toward similar political assassinations. In the past, they had assumed public responsibility for their misdeeds.

This time the responsibility was claimed by a new group, the Fatherland Front. The government charged that it was merely a Sternist front. The Sternists asserted that it was a dissident faction. But Friedman-Yellin went into hiding none the less. He was captured in October and will face trial on charges of possessing forged documents, foreign currency and an arms cache. No mention was made in the bill of particulars of complicity in the assassination of Count Bernadotte. Illustrative of the anonymity of the Sternists is the fact that only in reading of Friedman-Yellin's arrest did many Israelis learn for the first time the name of the group's chief.

The Stern Group constitutes a special kind of danger to Israel. Unlike the Irgun, it does not operate with the known instruments, including violence, of political warfare; and it is not susceptible to the public pressures that affect political organizations concerned with rallying masses. It is a group of dedicated madmen who, for all their selflessness, have set themselves up as a Sanhedrin over the fate and morals of their people.

Both in the Freedom Movement-Irgun camp and in the laborite camp there are factions which advocate moderation and reconciliation, and others which are Israeli equivalents of the Republican Radicals and Carpetbaggers of an earlier America. The Irgun leaders, for example, have a chronic distrust of the members of the government; they are implacably opposed to partition, and, even more so, to the effort being made in Washington and London to shrink the Israeli frontiers below the November 29, 1947, minimum; at the right moment, they themselves want to seize all of Palestine. Consequently, they have probably only half demobilized their forces, although pledging full dissolution.

The government, on the other hand, has strengthened the position of the Irgun's leaders in the eyes of the membership. It has done this by not giving the dissidents a single seat in the government, which remains constituted on the obsolete basis of Zionist Congress and Jewish Agency representation. Whether the Irgunists would have accepted a post is a moot question, but the embarrassment of refusal would have been theirs, not the government's. They certainly were more entitled to a post than were the General Zionists, whose local strength is infinitesimal.

Another factor that may eventually extend the former Irgunists' influence over large sections of the politically non-affiliated intelligentsia is the practice of nepotism and party patronage in government. Many men from labor's own ranks have in the past placed themselves at Beigin's and Friedman-Yellin's command because of the conviction that guerrilla warfare was the only means to statehood. They resented, yet understood, their bitter denunciation by former comrades.

On May 15, the mission of these Irgunists had been accomplished. They were ready for integration. Instead they found themselves hounded. It is true that suspicion and distrust were mutual, and probably stronger on the dissidents' side. But vested interests among the neophyte bureaucracy seek to perpetuate persecution in order to consolidate their own positions; and this creates the anomaly. While incompetent *pakidim* (officials) clutter up governmental services, superior talent is wasted in conspiracy against the government.

Thus, a great peril for Israel lies in these internal conditions; it lies in factors created by Big Power pressure over which Israel's control will be determined only by her economic resilience. And this has greatly decreased because of the war and the even costlier indefinite truce. Every stage from here on is filled with danger. There are explosive potentials in a possible concurrence in the internationalization of Jerusalem; in a possible agreement with King Abdullah of Transjordan which would facilitate the extension of his rule over the Arab sections of Palestine (this is opposed both by Mapam and by the Freedom Movement); in a spectacular victory at the polls either by the Freedom Movement or by Mapam; and in any serious change in the present proportions between organized labor and the non-labor sections of the population.

Mapam constitutes no real danger today, but it might in the event of a clear-cut Israeli affiliation with an anti-Soviet military bloc. Absolute neutrality in international affairs is needed for Israel's internal harmony. Another prerequisite is the successful absorption of the DP's and the Jews from the Arab countries. These persons, because of their tragic experiences, their diverse backgrounds and their almost reckless abandonment in Israel of inhibitions they might otherwise have retained all their lives, confront the new state with trying psychological as well as economic-rehabilitation problems.

But if Israel survives the next couple of years without a serious internal upheaval, the danger will have passed. By then the guerrillas of yesterday will have mellowed, and their factional loyalties will have become less compelling.

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WAS THERE REALLY A MAN NAMED ROOSEVELT?

As the popular memory fades, the mythmakers have taken him over and are creating legends to perplex history

by William Harlan Hale

THE IMAGE of Franklin D. Roosevelt, which so many had consigned to oblivion or another age, returned to Washington in triumph last month—to reside there among his living successors for perhaps many a year. If it is true that many who voted for Truman were also voting for the tradition and remembered impact of his predecessor, one asks oneself how that memory is being kept alive. Largely through individual recollection, of course. But there are also the published recollections—a fast-growing body of literature which has already gone heavily to work on his image, magnifying, reducing, retouching and altering it, until it begins to take on strange shapes. Before long, as popular memory recedes, the nation will find itself relying increasingly on what those who knew him wrote. The picture they give out of their special realms of recollection may become a basis of national legend.

If you relied on the first-hand pictures of the President given in print by James A. Farley, John N. Garner or William C. Bullitt, it would be hard to imagine your wishing to vote for anything Rooseveltian again. If, on the other hand, you subscribe to the versions given by Frances Perkins and the team of Harry Hopkins and Robert E. Sherwood, your esteem for him is certain to be increased. But if at the same time you read the memoirs of other intimates—Cordell Hull, Henry L. Stimson, Henry Morgenthau Jr. and Harold L. Ickes—you must be struck by certain discrepancies and contradictions that will leave you guessing. And if you make your way through the latest critical accounts by Charles A. Beard and John T. Flynn, you may be left with a sense of ultimate distaste—either for his ideas or for the opposite ones of their authors.

The venerable George Washington, the nearest thing our Republic has had to a king, burst out during the last months of his presidency that he was shocked to find himself being denounced "in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero." Being the first of the presidential line, he took the lesson hard; since then, it has become commonplace.

Kingly or not, a President inevitably takes on in the public mind some temporary attributes of kingship. Since the eagle alone doesn't satisfy as the symbol of America's majesty, we elevate the current tenant of the White House, only to find that while his image belongs to the nation, the man himself must belong to a party. He becomes the Great White Father in the eyes of those who voted for him; those who voted against him or fell out along the way confuse him with the Devil. This is hard on the symbol, and the man posing for it often ends up by seeming barely human.

So it has been with Roosevelt. Extremes of veneration have led to extremes of abuse. In the middle, stand his sometime partners and assorted assigns, still bemused by the high drama they shared, and each trying to paint a picture of Roosevelt that makes sense to himself. The result is not only many pictures but such contrasting ones that you wonder how a man could possibly have had so many faces.

On one thing only the writers closest to Roosevelt are agreed: his contradictions. Frances Perkins, bound to him by long ties of affection, writes of him as "the most complicated human being I ever knew"—a composite of lightheartedness and fervor, of easy indulgence and high seriousness, of small vanities and great humilities. Harold Ickes, crotchety but admiring, speaks of the "depth, tenacity and reserve" that underlay his "bright and urbane and polished surface." Henry Morgenthau, a rather complicated man himself, describes Roosevelt as "weary as well as buoyant, evasive as well as frank . . . a man of bewildering complexity of moods and motives." And Robert Sherwood, whose keen dramatist's eye missed few moves while he was close to the wartime White House, remarks that the President "was hard and he was soft. He could be a ruthless politician, but he was the champion of causes which . . . advisers assured him would constitute political suicide. He could appear to be utterly cynical, worldly, illusionless, and yet his religious faith was the strongest and most mysterious force that was in him."

But, having established that much at least to the satisfaction of some, we move into an area of dissatisfactions—some of which, when you add them up, begin to look almost as contradictory as the person of Roosevelt himself. At a press conference cited by Frances Perkins, the President answered a reporter's inquiry by saying, "My philosophy? I am a Christian and a Democrat, that's all." But to Cordell Hull, he was "often an ex-

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treme liberal"—emphasis on "extreme"—whose associations with "social welfarers" and "semi-radicals" were so close that his Secretary of State haughtily remarks that "in general, I was not a social intimate of the President. . . . I was frankly glad not to be invited." And to James Farley, the President was not even a good Democrat, especially when the 1940 contest came around: he was "ungrateful" to his ambitious supporters, "insincere" about his renomination plans, and ready to "place the party in jeopardy by running for a third term, when a candidate like Hull could have been certain of victory." (Farley, too, was not a White House social intimate: "Never was I invited to spend the night in the historic mansion," he complains—which arouses Ickes to bark at him, "Neither was I. . . . After all, the White House is not an itinerants' hotel.")

Frances Perkins writes devotionally of Roosevelt's extraordinary ability to inspire in others a "happy feeling of association and friendship." Yet Ickes speaks of a certain underlying "coldness" in him. The brittle Morgenthau describes at least one "icy" exchange with Roosevelt. Hull complains testily to Farley, "I was treated unfairly by that fellow. . . . I have received no recognition for what I have done as Secretary of State." Farley, in turn, calls that fellow "sometimes a spoiled boy . . . thankless. . . ."

Stimson, although one of Roosevelt's staunchest supporters throughout the war, frowns upon the "acrimonious disputes" between rival favorites that marked his "disorderly" administration, and accuses him of being "the poorest administrator I have ever worked under." Hopkins, on the other hand, sometimes bubbled over with the sheer joy of working for the man: "Oh," Sherwood reports him as saying of his master in 1941, "he sometimes tries to appear tough and cynical and flippant, but that's an act. . . . Don't ever let him fool you. . . . You and I are for Roosevelt because he's a great spiritual figure, because he's an idealist, like Wilson, and he's got the guts to drive through against any opposition to realize those ideals."

He was irresponsible—so it would appear from Morgenthau's account of the morning when Roosevelt, fixing the price of gold during the price-raising campaign of 1933, decided over breakfast in bed to boost it by 21 cents because "that's a lucky number—three times seven." On the other hand, he took some matters too seriously—so it seemed to "Sunny Jim" Farley, who didn't want the war in 1940 to interfere with maneuvers at the Democratic National Convention, and whose only comment on hearing Roosevelt that May grimly inform the cabinet of the possibility of German victory was, "I think the President is getting jittery."

He didn't lead his nation boldly enough to suit Henry Stimson, who wanted to take up the Axis' gage of war a year before Pearl Harbor, and who concludes that "Theodore Roosevelt would have done a better and more clean-cut job than was actually done." He sometimes led his nation too boldly for the liking of Cordell Hull, who regretted Roosevelt's "quarantine the aggressors" blast of 1937 as "startling" and "precipitate."

He was too much under the influence of a "palace guard" led by Harry Hopkins, thought Garner, Hull and Farley. He tried too long to appease Garner, Hull and Farley (his rivals for the 1940 nomination) thought the "palace guard." He was derelict in preparing for war, charges William C. Bullitt. He was over-zealous about it, thought Garner, winding up a cabinet debate on amending the Neutrality Act with the cheerful remark, "Well, Captain, we may as well face the facts. You haven't got the votes, and that's all there is to it."

Views as diverse as these hardly add up to any one coherent picture of the man. But they do add up to a group picture of the men who voiced them—that round-table of high advisers who acted as the administrative eyes and ears of Roosevelt. Here, in terms of personalities, was the governmental climate in which Roosevelt moved. That the personalities composing it were torn by clashing loyalties and stormy feuds was to be expected, for it is the nature of the cabinet system to gather in rivals rather than friends.

Every now and then in our course of government, a strong, coherent,

DRAWINGS BY WILLIAM SHARP

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"happy" cabinet is formed—such as Theodore Roosevelt's monolithic team of John Hay, Elihu Root, William H. Taft and Philander Knox. But more generally cabinet-making is a form of appeasement of pressure groups and regional elements, all of which have entered special claims for reward. Lincoln, the most diplomatic cabinet-maker of all, deliberately sought out those men who had been his chief rivals for the party's 1860 nomination, and invited the quarrelsome combination of Seward, Chase, Bates and Cameron to help him steer the country through war. Wilson, never diplomatic, preferred to have mere orderlies around, after his trying experience with the restive Secretary Bryan. Franklin D. Roosevelt, a Wilsonian leader but also a diplomat, compromised by calling in some who were in full sympathy with his aims and some who were not—a coalition fated to plague him, his party and his memory.

Between the easy-going Garner, a conservative Texan who had won the vice-presidency through a convention deal with William Randolph Hearst, and Frances Perkins, the earnest, settlement-house humanitarian, there was obviously little in common in their views on the nation—or on Roosevelt. Neither could there be much in common between Farley, the genial party boss who looked on politics as "a great game," and Harold Ickes, who as a Midwest progressive had long been fighting just that concept of politics. Hull, a crusty up-country Southerner whose militance about foreign-trade agreements sometimes obscured his cautious conservatism at home, could not be expected to look kindly on Hopkins, the hard-boiled reformer who was ready to make over everything he could lay hands upon.

Henry Morgenthau, a landed inheritor of great wealth, was broad enough to be able to admire the insurgent Hopkins, in spite of their sharp differences on government spending; and even though he thought Henry Wallace entirely wrong on farm policy, was able to praise his growth in office. Henry Stimson, too, a corporation lawyer who was at the same time an extraordinarily spacious and world-minded figure, did not let his differences with the domestic New Deal prevent him from throwing his full energy behind Roosevelt when the Axis struck. But other members of the group, when the going became rough, either fell by the wayside or blew up—leaving history with the pieces.

In telling their versions of what happened, the men who fell out with Roosevelt are naturally inclined to defend their own reputations as against his. But sometimes their desired effects don't always come off. In the case of the Farley-Garner maneuver to unseat Roosevelt from the presidency in 1940, the story rebounds on its tellers.

Hull, the ally and possible beneficiary of the team, recounts that he was certain Roosevelt had picked him for the succession. Farley, believing that as boss of the machine he was the rightful heir, thought that Roosevelt had pretty definitely picked *him*. (Hopkins, however, recounts that Roosevelt had picked nobody—least of all Farley—and Harold Ickes, suggesting coyly that for a while Roosevelt may have had *him* in mind, also reports an absence of presidential enthusiasm for Hull and especially for Farley.) As for Garner, "Jim," he told Farley while Vice President, "the two of us can pull together to stop Roosevelt"—which, toward the end of 1939, they tried to do.

Hull kept quiet—although Farley recalls telling Garner that Hull "is very much worried that the President may be talked into running. Mrs. Hull had talked very frankly to Mrs. Farley about [Hull's] concern for the country." The plan was that in case neither Garner nor Farley could corral the needed convention votes, they would throw their joint strength to Hull. What is remarkable here is not so much the plan itself but that Hull quietly allowed it to continue—being willing, apparently, to side with the isolationist wing of the party against a President with whom he was pledged to take steps against the advancing Axis. It never occurred to the Farley-Garner camp, in their outbursts against Roosevelt's "coercion" of his party, that the man who had really done the coercing was Adolf Hitler—who saw in Roosevelt's leadership the strongest remaining symbol of democratic resistance. Hull did finally realize what the repudiation of that symbol would mean, but by that time Roosevelt appears to have lost confidence in his Secretary of State.

The President's loss of confidence in some of his associates is a theme running through the memorial literature, although it is often disguised so as to suggest that they first lost confidence in him. During the long pull the defects of Roosevelt's composite cabinet became apparent, and these shortcom-

For a Roosevelt Reader

The writings on Franklin D. Roosevelt and his administration discussed in this article include:

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND THE COMING OF THE WAR, 1941, by Charles A. Beard (Yale; $5).

THE ROOSEVELT I KNEW, by Frances Perkins (Viking; $3.75).

JIM FARLEY'S STORY: THE ROOSEVELT YEARS, by James A. Farley (Whittlesey House; $3.50).

THE ROOSEVELT MYTH, by John T. Flynn (Devin-Adair; $3.50).

THE MEMOIRS OF CORDELL HULL (Macmillan; 2 vols.; $11).

ROOSEVELT AND HOPKINS: AN INTIMATE HISTORY, by Robert E. Sherwood (Harpers; $6).

ON ACTIVE SERVICE IN PEACE AND WAR, by Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy (Harpers; $5).

"My Twelve Years with F.D.R.," by Harold L. Ickes (Six installments, the *Saturday Evening Post*, 1948).

"The Morgenthau Diaries," by Henry Morgenthau Jr. (Six installments, *Collier's*, 1947).

"How We Won the War and Lost the Peace," by William C. Bullitt (Two installments, *Life*, 1948).

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ings made the President act in the self-willed and unconventional way he sometimes did. Too many cabinet members (to judge from the memoirs themselves) dragged their feet.

It is diverting today to read that back in 1933 Henry Wallace, the cabinet's most promising left-winger, tried to dissuade his chief from recognizing the Soviet Union. Harold Ickes, another tested liberal, proved so cautious and even niggardly at dispensing emergency relief funds that a constantly increasing share of them were inevitably diverted into the hands of the maverick Harry Hopkins. Harry Woodring, Secretary of War while the crisis with Hitler approached, remained an isolationist so little interested in mobilizing America's armed forces that when Roosevelt asked him after the fall of Poland what the Army needed, all he answered was, "A couple of million blankets."

Not only did men like Garner and Woodring fail to support Roosevelt's stand against the Axis; at the other end, the isolationist leftists of the New Deal (including, in 1939, Harry Hopkins himself) also argued that he mustn't let himself be diverted from domestic issues by concerns "foreign" to America. But perhaps his greatest letdown, as the war crisis approached, came at the hands of Secretary Hull, who, although in accord with his chief's aims abroad, seemed unable or unwilling to mobilize his department to do much to realize them.

On taking office in 1933, Hull had prided himself on making the fewest possible changes in the mossy old institution, despite the fact that the new, unpredictable forces of fascism were rising to threaten it. In 1937, accordingly, Roosevelt told Ickes that he feared he would have to run the State Department himself. In Undersecretary Sumner Welles he found a lieutenant brisker and more sympathetic than Hull. Morgenthau speaks contemptuously of the "timorous, conventional and correct" approach of Hull's department—an attitude the President undoubtedly shared, since he gave Morgenthau's aggressive office more and more of Hull's emergency work (such, for instance, as the drafting of the lend-lease bill). And Sherwood writes of the unbending Hull's principal concern with maintaining a personal record of "no runs, no hits, no errors"—which caused Roosevelt impatiently to call on that rough-and-ready pinch-hitter, Harry Hopkins.

Yet the shortcomings around the White House were not merely human. Many were clearly institutional. Under Roosevelt, existing agencies never seemed spacious enough to cope with unprecedented problems. Emergency tasks ranged from the creating of four million relief jobs overnight to the governing of nearly 100 million subjugated Germans and Japanese—and these not only sorely tried American bureaucrats, but also their whole bureaucracy. At one point early in the New Deal, 60 different government bodies were involved in administering relief; and as the hour of victory over the Axis approached, the Treasury, War, Navy and Justice Departments, along with the temporary Foreign Economic Administration, were writing occupation policy, each moving in where the State Department had been slow to lead.

Surrounded by old-line departments and in part by an old-line cabinet, Roosevelt had inevitably to base his method on a blend of compromise, innovation and improvisation. It was a pragmatic, *ad-hoc* blend, sometimes productive of phenomenal confusion, and many people—including good administrators like Stimson—felt unhappy about it. Hopkins didn't: that was because, although a reformer at heart, he was an utter pragmatist in action. Roosevelt didn't either, knowing that new challenges called for brisk answers; and if that limited him in the long run, it strengthened his hand at the crucial moment.

He rather enjoyed the collisions and cross-purposes of government, believing that he himself rose above them; and so he rarely cleaned them up. He gave green lights to rival chiefs and let them fight each other for the right of way (read Ickes, for instance, on his running duel with Hopkins, or Hull on his bouts with Moley, Welles and Morgenthau). He hoped thereby to discover the stronger man. Yet even when he found a man weak he couldn't fire him—not even the wool-gathering Woodring—until his advisers had prodded him for years. Long after mutual faith was lost, he kept Hull as his top Secretary in appeasement of Hull's senatorial friends. This was a far cry from the didactic Wilson, who sometimes acted as if the Senate were unruly schoolboys in need of a caning.

He allowed all these accommodations, hoping that somehow matters would solve themselves in a liberal direction. Sometimes they did, in ways that surprised those whom he had accommodated. Thus in 1940 he gave free rein to the dollar-a-year men whom big industry had lent to set up armament production, only to let them prove to the nation within a year that their minds were still so set on business-as-usual that they couldn't master the job. So (as Bruce Catton records in his *War Lords of Washington*, backing up Hopkins) the visiting wizards had to be sent home or else kicked upstairs like William S. Knudsen, while a gang of hard-boiled New Dealers took over under Donald Nelson—soon treating the country to the spectacle of "professors" like Leon Henderson and Robert Nathan pushing war production skyhigh while orthodox businessmen and Army-Navy bureau chiefs went on muttering, "It can't be done."

He enjoyed such paradoxes. He worked by compromise, and counted on surprise. In troubled times he went fishing for ideas and took men where he could find them. Toward the end he took perhaps too many soldiers—or rather, he took a few, like Admiral Leahy, too close to his bosom—again apparently because so many of his civilian aides had let him down. And this appears to have led to a final paradox: not having been decisive enough in cleaning his estate of sapless civilian timber, he left to Truman an extraordinary legacy of brass.

As Sherwood and Hull and Stimson

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remind us, he worked by compromise because he felt the country demanded it. The instincts he voiced lay deep in the people—the faith in common man, the demand for security, the aspiration for a peaceable world—but while he wanted ardently to be out front in realizing them, except in a few moments of supreme challenge he was fearful of getting too far out front and thereby isolating himself from the mass. Many liberals in the mid-thirties and many interventionists in 1941 complained that he wasn't moving out front enough. But he felt he was moving as fast as he could go in the main stream of applied American liberalism.

If he seemed amazingly lighthearted under pressure, perhaps that was in part because he remembered the disastrous fall that overtook his highly serious mentor, Wilson. If he lacked the ruminant depth of Lincoln, this may have been in part because his energies were so constantly deployed in fighting on not one but many fronts—trying to salvage the New Deal, for instance, while he fought off German and Japanese hosts. He was like Wilson, however, according to both Hull's and Stimson's accounts, in his mighty vision of a new international order. And he was like Lincoln, as Sherwood sees it, in that many of his great decisions had to be arrived at in the face of massed opposition, with little help, alone. Just as Lincoln decided, against the advice of almost all his cabinet, to take the perilous step of relieving Fort Sumter, Roosevelt risked political suicide—first when he tried to break through the crippling Neutrality Act, then when he sent ships and arms to imperiled Britain, and finally when he defied all the weight of our nationalist mythology by proposing the daring doctrine of lend-lease.

Did he betray us, even so? Many would have it that he did. Ambassador Bullitt, who knew him well, charges him with supreme derelictions—first with having failed to prepare the nation adequately for war, and then for having sold out the peace to the "Caucasian bandit," as Bullitt calls Stalin. The first of these charges has a peculiar ring, coming from a man whom Morgenthau accuses of having been an appeaser of Hitler in 1938, and whom Sherwood sets down—alongside Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy—as a 1940 "defeatist." As for our policy toward Russia—whose armies, as Bullitt overlooks, were doing a good deal of work destroying Nazi troops that otherwise would have faced us—Bullitt is perhaps best answered by the Republican, Henry Stimson, who in defense of our wartime agreements with Stalin says that "the only way to make a man trustworthy is to trust him."

That trust was afterwards betrayed; but it was needed then. The Yalta agreements, which Bullitt looks upon as Roosevelt's own betrayals of America, were designed in large part to bring Russia into the war against Japan and thus save American lives at a time when our troops had not yet come to grips with Japan's major land strength and when nobody knew whether our atomic bomb would work. Yet no surrenders were made by our delegation at Yalta, says Sherwood; the agreement arrived at over Poland was felt to be "honorable and equitable"; and James F. Byrnes has remarked that the shortcomings of Yalta lay not in its agreements but in the fact that the Russians failed to keep them. Nothing that has happened since Yalta, Stimson concludes, has borne against "the wisdom . . . of Mr. Roosevelt's decision to behave with complete friendliness and goodwill toward the Russians while the Allies were at war."

Hindsight is, of course, a privilege of writers of memoirs. Wise ones use it sparingly. Thus Sherwood, fully realizing that some readers may snort with retroactive irony, speaks plainly of the "supreme exaltation" in which Roosevelt and his delegation left Yalta, feeling that they had found there the basis for victory and honorable peace. Those who never shared the exaltation of that time—or of that whole era when, as Herbert Agar says, "good men dared to trust each other"—have long concentrated on its disappointments as against its achievements. Such a one is the late Charles A. Beard, the most scholarly proponent of the thesis that we should never have entered the war, and that Roosevelt betrayed America by deviously leading us into it.

Beard's book argues that in 1940 Roosevelt had made an "unequivocal covenant" (in simpler language, a campaign pledge) to keep us out of war, and omits entirely to mention the fact that Hitler's subsequent aggressions into the Atlantic area, along with the steady encroachments by Japanese warlords in the Pacific, may have had something to do with amending that resolve. The American decision to fight, says Beard (quoting abundantly from Senators Wheeler, Nye, Taft and Shipstead, along with the New York *Daily News* and John O'Donnell), was taken almost *in vacuo* by President Roosevelt. He made secret commitments to the British, he turned down smiling Japanese offers of a *modus vivendi*, and he committed "acts of aggression" against German submarines found stalking our ships in the Atlantic.

But German submarines didn't just stalk; they sank. As for Roosevelt's alleged provocation of Japan, Cordell Hull's memoirs provide the documented answer, with their patient story of American delays and repeated temporizing in the face of brusque Japanese "proposals" that called on us to recognize their conquests in Asia and Hitler's in Europe. And as for the legend of "secret commitments" made to Britain at Roosevelt's Atlantic Conference before we went to war, Sherwood cites a ranking British official as saying, "If only there had been some!"

But there are depths beneath depths in the shadowy realms of hate. For those who wish to plunge, there is John T. Flynn's *The Roosevelt Myth*, which describes the New Deal as a fraud, Roosevelt in later years as a mental defective, his family as a ring of profiteers, and our entry into the war as an adventure plotted by the President in order to cover up his failures at home. The American press in general has tossed aside this book, but it has been acclaimed as historically sound by John Chamberlain, a top writer of the Luce publications.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

SOME NOVELISTS

SAMUEL BUTLER, by G. D. H. Cole.
HENRY FIELDING, by Elizabeth Jenkins.
THE BRONTES, by Phyllis Bentley.
ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON, by Lettice Cooper (all published by Alan Swallow; $2).

THESE VOLUMES, the first four in a projected series on English novelists, are being published simultaneously in England and America. There could be two reasons for such a series: new biographical material or critical revaluation of an author's work. Neither is apparent in these initial volumes. Or, to be exact, *certain* facts are dug up.

Stevenson, for example, frequented low dives as a young man in Edinburgh and toyed with the idea of marrying and "saving" a prostitute, evidence which "early biographers carefully ignored." As children, the Brontës elaborated day-dream kingdoms called "Angria" and "Gondal" which they recorded in a hundred tiny booklets "for long the wonder and mystery of all Brontë students." These have finally been "coaxed . . . to reveal their secret." The secret is disappointingly irrelevant. One might admit "their extraordinary intrinsic value as a psychological study and a revelation of genius in infancy," but it is hard to see why they "have a very great importance in the study of the Brontës' work" unless that work is studied as the self-revelations of three neurotics caring for an alcoholic brother in a lonely Yorkshire parsonage. They reveal nothing essential about the Brontës' work, as literature, that is not clear from a sensitive reading of the texts themselves.

As for critical revaluation, the only thing approaching criticism of any kind in these volumes is a claim for a writer's importance, and this usually takes the form of a declaration of personal enthusiasm. G. D. H. Cole will say of *Erewhon Revisited*, "Personally, I like it a great deal." Miss Jenkins begins with a (to me) meaningless claim that the "flowering of the English novel as a great work of imagination" ended with Dickens, calls attention to Fielding's "tremendous zest for life," and appropriates for her subject Hamlet's praise of his father. Miss Bentley says flatly that "the power of the writing in *Jane Eyre* is beyond that of any other nineteenth-century prose writer." To which one can only answer just as flatly that it isn't so.

The book that comes off best is Miss Cooper's study of Robert Louis Stevenson, and this not despite the fact, but just *because*, she is treating the slightest of the four subjects. Although she is sensibly modest in her claims for Stevenson, she would probably overrate him and she certainly enjoys him, but at the same time (and not indeliberately) she reveals in all its poverty his singularly uninteresting mind. And lacking any specific literary criticism, an account of a mind like Stevenson's very nearly approximates an evaluation of his work.

We can take it on the evidence of his contemporaries (quoted here) that he possessed great personal charm (and such reputations die hard), but more to the point is Miss Cooper's picture of the professional Bohemian who "was a story to himself." "Stevenson took years to work through the comparative safety of adolescence." Again: "He saw the world as a boy sees it, with himself in the middle of it." With the consequence (most telling of all) that "in the heart of his life he never questioned it."

I wouldn't want to deny these books much that is interesting—certain anecdotes, certain quotations. They are respectably written and not without usefulness to the reader who knows what he's looking for—a summary of facts. But their general effect is to obscure the irrelevance of these facts to the evaluation of given novels. They would be particularly misleading to the very people who are likely to accept them as handbooks—literary students at the undergraduate level.

JOHN FARRELLY

RADIO: Talking People

ONE SUNDAY RECENTLY, NBC put on a big, one-hour documentary, "Mother Earth," concerned with the world's food problem. At the end of the show (University Theatre, 2:30-3:30 p.m.) the announcer informed us that the following week Dinah Shore would star in "Alice in Wonderland." To this listener, the advance notice was anti-climactic, for "Mother Earth" had been a wonderland which showed that even staid old NBC could let itself go and perform miracles when both producer and writer were given their heads.

Wade Arnold, who produced the program, was recently given the assignment of building *real* documentaries for NBC. Two rival networks, CBS and ABC, have been 'way ahead of NBC in that field, and even Mutual has done well. One wondered how NBC would behave in a style which requires forthrightness and no double talk. "Mother Earth" is an indication that it will get along well. Arnold, apparently, was allowed to put on the air what he thought should be said. His writer, Dorothea J. Lewis, knows how to clothe a story without doodads. The result was an hour of informative material, honestly presented.

The fact that ignorance as well as cupidity is responsible for the steady depletion of the world's total food basket was punched home on the show. "There are hungry people," the narrator said at one point, "in our own country—not for lack of food but for lack of finances." The idea was repeated half a dozen times. Whenever the listener was in danger of beginning to think that the general problem affected only distant peoples, the writer put him right back in the USA.

Radio, by law, is supposed to be

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impartial, non-partisan and innocent of comment that is in the special interest of the corporate broadcaster. Too often, this law is observed only in its skillful breach. The most powerful of the radio corporations proved this time that on occasion the microphone can bite the hand that owns it.

There is a new menace on the air. A band leader named Meredith Willson (ABC, Wednesday, 10:30 p.m.) has improved upon the technique of the commercial. He has trained a chorus to talk in unison, assigning to each syllable of every word the careful values of musical notation, and conducting the chorus in its chant. He calls the device, blasphemously, a "Greek chorus." Publicly, he refers to the group as his "Talking People." The enunciation is clear, the synchronization is meticulous—the Gilbert and Sullivan impact will send you out to buy earmuffs in July.

Willson's orchestra is good; a lady named Paulena Carter does effective vocal solos; and a pair of singers—Josef Marais and Miranda—is certain to come up with interesting numbers from the folklore of people living in romantic places like the South African veldt, the Siberian steppes or the high plateaus of the Rockies. I'd listen to the show for Marais and Miranda alone, but it's the "Talking People" that have given Willson his current popularity.

Willson has now hired out his team to do the commercials for NBC's "Aldrich Family" and for CBS's "My Favorite Husband." He has probably copyrighted the name "Talking People," but I'm sure the technique is in the public domain. If other advertisers start organizing their own "Greek choruses," we'll soon be clamoring for the good old days when nothing but jingles assaulted our nerves.

Recently I heard a revealing story concerning a big, non-network radio station in the West, fairly well-known for excellent if sporadic achievements in public-service programming. About a year ago, this station started a new series, devoted to dramatizing the accomplishments of local industry and commerce. A writer who was being assigned one of the scripts was told by the station's chief: "This show is insurance. Look what the Un-American Committee has already done in Hollywood. When they start on radio, and come snooping into our public service shows—we'll have this series to point to, as balance."

I can't believe that the ABC network needs that kind of insurance. But one of its recently developed sustainers often sounds as though it had been taken over by ABC's ideological actuary. The show is "Our Job Is Manhattan" (Thursdays, 9:30 p.m.).

Technically, from the script (the best element in this series) to the production and casting, the program is good. But after listening to it several times, I can only suggest insurance as the reason for the strange places to which the listener is taken some Thursdays. For instance, one of the recent shows visited the Plaza Hotel to find what the program purportedly seeks: "the fascination, the excitement and the magic" of Manhattan. The Plaza is about as exciting as the Union League Club in any man's town. The show was excellent when it dramatized strange doings in Radio City or probed deep under Manhattan's surface in an excellent air essay devoted to the work of the Henry Street Settlement.

Producer Peter Martin and writer Ira Marion did their end of the job at the Plaza as well as they did when they took their recording tape to the New York waterfront on an earlier try. The blame for the Plaza piece could not be pinned on Ed Reimers, the narrator, or on Charles Powers, the director. But someone at ABC was obviously building a storm cellar, just in case.

SAUL CARSON

MOVIES: Fresnay and Powell

THE COMMANDING EXCELLENCE of "Monsieur Vincent" is a personal triumph for Pierre Fresnay in the title role, supported at every moment by the dialogue of Jean Anouilh. I cannot remember a picture (not even Laurence Olivier's "Hamlet") in which a single actor assumed so great a share of the burden.

All the subtlety, all the dramatic growth and emotional variety of the story spring from Fresnay's face and gestures and movements. The season has provided, incidentally, an unusual opportunity for studying the development of this actor's talent. He was one of the three principals in Pagnol's "César" trilogy, and he played a lead in Pabst's "Street of Shadows." These old revivals show him at various levels of competence, but through them all he seems stiff, arbitrary, aware of the camera and inclined to rest on a youthful handsomeness. On the evidence of "Monsieur Vincent," he is today as sure and thoughtful an actor as the screen provides.

The lives of the saints have not fared too well on the screen. Careers of such extreme sanctity are apt to photograph sentimentally or with a belligerent piety; they tend to a kind of religious special pleading that offends the unchurchly and, at the opposite extreme, they often seem like the commercialization of holy writ. "The Song of Bernadette" and "Joan of Arc" exhibited between them the total of ecclesiastical hazards, and then some.

In "Monsieur Vincent," Fresnay and his director, Maurice Cloche, have avoided those pitfalls by creating a figure that is vigorous, purposeful and alight with humor. St. Vincent de Paul is seen to accomplish his great social project, not by divine intervention or the suasion of excessive holiness, but because, like most people who get their way in important matters, his idea was simple and he was quite prepared to spend his life on it. As Fresnay presents him, St. Vincent is not only a virtuous and powerful man, but a

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thoroughly companionable one, and the film as a consequence is more a treat than a tract.

It is also, though we hope this will not be noticed in government circles, a revolutionary film, for it insists that pitying the poor and throwing them alms will not do at all; the poor, it says, are our masters and we must serve them. "Only because you love them will they forgive you the bread you bring them."

Fresnay has not been aided in his characterization by the script of the film. For though the lines and the incidents are clear and true, the story thread is slack and confused. The picture opens on what proves a long prologue, too detailed for the purpose it serves, and even when it is well away, the narrative halts and gropes and then starts again on a fresh tack. It is a wasteful sort of script, even though it is an intelligent one and even though it may have tried to be faithful to research. Fortunately it clears toward the middle and permits Fresnay to exert the emotional drive he needs to make Vincent de Paul lastingly impressive as a heroic figure in the evolution of the humanitarian spirit.

Dick Powell, the ex-crooner turned hard-faced hero, has become Hollywood's most successful undercover agent working on behalf of American freedom and decency. By and large, he has handled his cloak-and-dagger assignments with modest efficiency and a good deal of conviction. He is probably the screen's best exponent of roughhouse justice, not excepting Humphrey Bogart, and the metamorphosis from the days of his microphone winsomeness is no less than astonishing. Nothing quite like it has been seen in the twenty years since his precursor, William, transformed himself from a sniveling cutpurse into the toast of the boulevards.

But Dick Powell's latest plunge into exotic skulduggery, "Rogues Regiment," is not very happy. In the first place, for a two-fisted melodrama, which is all it is, it is overloaded with historical allusion and political significance. It purports to be the story of how a top-ranking Nazi (who could only be the still missing Martin Bormann) is traced to the French Foreign Legion in Indo-China and brought back to Nüremberg to die on the gallows. The film dubs in newsreel shots of Goering, Hess and their colleagues at the War Crimes Trials, it reënacts the cremation (highly speculative) of Hitler and Eva Braun, and a lot of people are going to come out of the theatre thinking that Bormann, or someone astonishingly like him, has been properly hanged. Bormann, you may recall, was also finished off in "A Foreign Affair," but he seems as difficult to kill dead as was the indestructible Dr. Fu Manchu.

"Rogues Regiment" also assumes that Viet Nam nationalists in Indo-China were a group of bloodthirsty brigands operating with weapons supplied by the USSR. The guns are smuggled to them, in this instance, by a German antique dealer who plays at gun-running out of a desire to do as much mischief as possible to the enemies of his late Führer. This is heavy slogging in the fields of history, pseudo-history and international gossip for a film that purports to be good sadistic fun.

In the second place, "Rogues Regiment" is implausible, and even a spy thriller must be internally convincing for the time it takes to unreel it. I won't believe, even for the purposes of a thrill, that Foreign Legion troops go chattering in close file through dense jungle known to be infested by guerrillas, or that a beautiful heroine of the Deuxième Bureau will fall in love, bang, with the first Yankee colleague who offers her a home on a Nebraska hay farm, or that a seasoned killer hurls his empty automatic at the man he is stalking, thus announcing that he is fresh out of ammunition, or that you can escape from a jungle prison camp by throwing dirt in a guard's face and diving into the nearest lagoon. Powell, I think, was dealing from a cold deck.

All in all, the Foreign Legion was better fun in the days of "Beau Geste," when you could vent your aggressions on the Allah-intoxicated Bedouins and sneer at the groveling cowardice of the elder Powell. When Russia and Viet Nam and high-ranking Nazis still at large get into the act, the heroics become a little hysterical.

Recently I attributed "Live Today for Tomorrow" incorrectly to Twentieth Century-Fox. The producer was Universal International, and I owe the former studio an apology for kidding it about a film it never made.

ROBERT HATCH

THEATRE: Stark Young and Others

I FOUND ONLY one original and very funny number in "Lend an Ear" (at the National), wherein the opera is parodied by the simple means of allowing the players to do a characteristic libretto without benefit of music. There is also an amusing take-off on a musical comedy that is supposed to represent a period piece of 1925.

For a moment, the mention of that year as if it had been a foolish time in our theatre produced something like a spark of resentment within me. That was the time when the American stage—including musical comedy—was at a high point which it has never reached again. That golden day had just been brought back to my memory by a reading of Stark Young's admirable collection of dramatic criticism: *Immortal Shadows* (Scribner's; $3), the first 136 pages of which offer a remarkable insight into that exciting epoch. But before going on with a discussion of Young's book, we must pause to take further note of the current scene.

As I watched the first eight numbers of "Lend an Ear," I observed that, whereas I found nothing annoying in them, the people around me were in an ecstasy of good cheer. Of

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course, the press had been unusually indulgent, and that is always a great help to a second-night audience. Still I could not understand the enthusiasm except that there must be a real need nowadays to find something to get enthusiastic about. When for a long time theatregoers are not offered anything truly worth their applause, they will accept amiable substitutes.

The atmosphere of "Lend an Ear" is that of a young folks' party where bright kids get up and do imitations and make fun in the manner of professionals who do both these things much better—except for the advantage of youthful zest. There are some good dancers, an amusing girl named Carol Channing, a sharp one named Yvonne Adair, and a pretty one named Antoinette Guhlke.

Little need be added to what has already been said about Menotti's "The Telephone" and "The Medium," revived for a limited engagement at the City Center. They prove that despite much palaver about the desuetude of the form, opera can be popular when its music is pleasant and easy, and its production is aimed at playhouse pleasure. "The Telephone" is a vaudeville sketch; "The Medium" is the kind of old-fashioned chiller that the French call Grand-Guignol. As such it is fairly effective, embellished as it is with a Puccini-like tunefulness. Its most telling feature—aside from its departure from the banality of the Broadway norm—is the setting by Horace Armistead.

It amused me quite a good deal to see an audience that might turn up its nose at melodramatic overacting in an ordinary show roar approval of Marie Powers' almost farcical scenery-chewing. Our audiences are starved for bold theatricality, but they are much more repressed about this than they are about making a public display of sexual curiosity. That is why they prefer to take their theatricality through the respectable disguise of a modern American opera like "The Medium" or a dignified historical drama like "Anne of the Thousand Days."

What strikes one immediately on reading Stark Young's reviews, in *Immortal Shadows*, are not their merits or their defects, but that they are actually criticism. It happens that I agree with most of Young's opinions in this book, but that has little to do with the pleasure I take in reading it. For opinions are of little moment to me: what I seek in a dramatic critic —as in any other writer—is that he be somebody and, even more important that he know something.

Stark Young possesses a genuine literary personality, and he knows a good many things distinctly worth knowing. He has a remarkable feeling for the Latin sensibility, for Italian art forms, and an individual sense of beauty that is altogether rare nowadays when the beautiful is confused with the pretty, the agreeable or the pompous. Stark Young knows (that is, he really *sees*) acting: not how to gush or "rave" about it, but how to define it, as his two superb pieces on Duse bear witness. Reviews like those of the Belasco-Warfield "Merchant of Venice" and Reinhardt's "Miracle" have a permanent interest as little essays in esthetics. He has excellent things to say about the early O'Neill, about Pirandello, and of Tennessee Williams he wrote in 1945 that he has a talent that "New York will buy tickets for in later plays, especially if the sexy is added to things, but will never quite understand."

About *décor*, Young writes, "The settings for this new play would add more to their scenes by looking either more like nature or more like art"—which I suggest as a motto for our designers. . . . Apropos of the old-time actor, he says pointedly, "Many a scene he could not understand the actor of those days could act, where our modern players could understand but not act it. . . ." Young speaks eloquently of the Spanish dramatist Lorca and then describes "the theatre of today, poor and dry, cheaply feasible, plausible, limping and hesitant as it has become, a theatre not even good enough to be bad."

I envy Stark Young those days in the twenties when even dramatic critics

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could permit themselves to take the theatre seriously—and the space editors and readers allowed them to give it. HAROLD CLURMAN

CORRESPONDENCE

The Gundlach Case

SIR: A group of 418 educators has addressed a joint letter to the Board of Regents of the University of Washington in defense of Professor Ralph H. Gundlach, president of the Western Psychological Association. A copy of the letter is attached.

COLSTON E. WARNE
Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.

[ENCLOSURE]

The undersigned psychologists and other educators are deeply concerned, as you must be, over the implications for American education of the current charges brought against University of Washington faculty members. These charges have stemmed from the recent inquiries of the Canwell Committee into their beliefs. We are particularly interested in the case of Professor Ralph H. Gundlach, who is widely known as an able teacher and scholar and is president of the Western Psychological Association. . . .

For the past twenty years Professor Gundlach has been a member of the Department of Psychology at the University of Washington. During that period he has not only been an esteemed scholar but has also participated actively in civic life. We can well understand his objection to legislative intrusion into his political beliefs, especially in view of the procedural conduct of the hearings and the introduction of the doctrine of guilt by association. We contend that the issue at stake cannot be Professor Gundlach's economic and political ideas but rather must be that of whether the University of Washington is to take the unprecedented responsibility of going beyond a teacher's record of competent performance to establish a standard of political orthodoxy. If that is done in this case, the next step may be to decide whether those showing evidence of a belief in Catholicism or the single tax are acceptable. Both of these are doctrines of considerable rigidity. Both have been at times highly unpopular. The University is vaulted into the unenviable position of approving the radius of acceptable ideas and, by implication therefore, will be forced to determine the ever-changing borderline of orthodoxy. We do not think you will wish to undertake such a responsibility.

Among the more than 400 educators signing this letter are Goodwin Watson, Kirtley Mather, Harlow Shapley, A. J. Carlson, W. E. Hocking, Hadley Cantril, R. K. Gooch and Howard Mumford Jones.

BANDWAGON

More's the Pity

Wadleigh said he did not know that political views attributed to a client could be attributed to the lawyer who represented him.

"Your expression that political views of an individual are nobody's business is a typical Communist expression," Hebert told him. – *From the Washington* Post.

Change of Heart

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School of Hard Knocks

But the workers do not as yet know the full extent of their rights. Millions of them do not know that the Wagner Act operated to enslave them and the Taft-Hartley Act started to emancipate them. – *From David Lawrence's syndicated column.*

Progress

Doctors investigating the effects of the atomic bomb waited today for the results of an autopsy to determine if the slow death of 28-year-old Shiro Nakayama was caused by the Hiroshima blast three years ago.

Physicians said that if it can be definitely proven Nakayama's death was caused by the atomic bomb, medical science will have made a "tremendous advance." – *From the Toronto* Daily Star.

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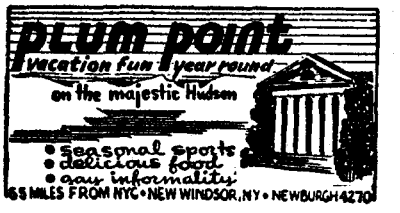
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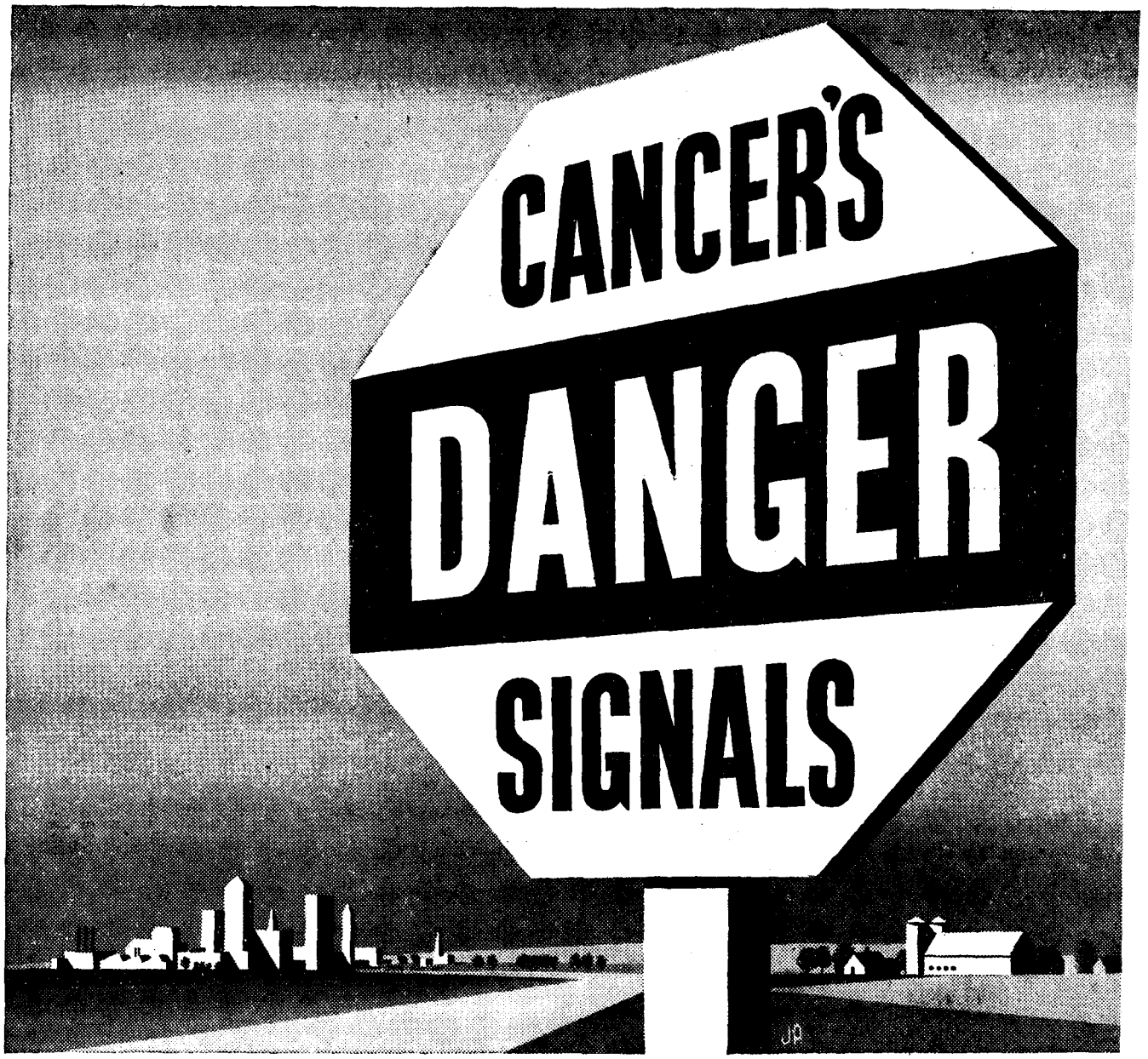

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2. A painless lump or thickening, especially in the breast, lip, or tongue. Do not wait "to see what happens." Go to the doctor.

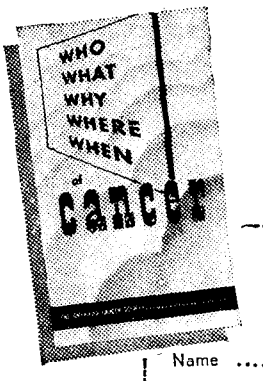
3. Irregular bleeding or discharge from any natural body opening. Do not wait for pain. Go to the doctor.

4. Persistent indigestion. Do not wait for loss of weight. Go to the doctor.

5. Progressive change in the color or size of a wart, mole or birthmark. Don't try salves or ointments. Go to the doctor.

6. Persistent hoarseness, unexplained cough, or difficulty in swallowing. Do not assume that it is due to smoking or some other form of irritation which will clear up. Go to the doctor.

7. Any change in the normal bowel habits. Do not attempt to diagnose yourself. Go to the doctor.



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